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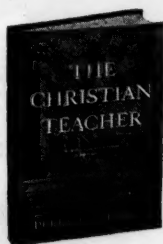
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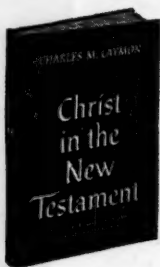
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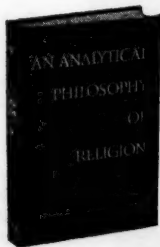
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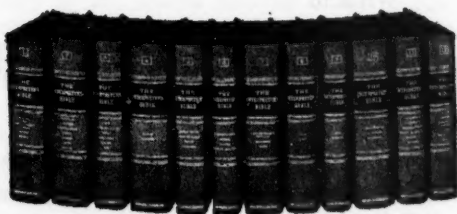
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Editorial Introduction

Continuing our policy of featuring in each October issue articles which deal with the Scripture selected for the following January Bible Study in the Southern Baptist Convention, our first three articles deal with the Gospel of Mark. The Gospel of Mark will be studied in the churches of the Southern Baptist Convention in January, 1959. The three authors of these articles are well known Southern Baptist scholars. Dr. Bratcher has taught New Testament in the Baptist Seminary in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, and Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He is at present Research Associate, Translations Department, of the American Bible Society. Dr. Briggs was for some time professor of religion in Union University, Jackson, Tennessee, and is now professor of New Testament in Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Wake Forest, North Carolina. Dr. Peacock was professor of New Testament in the Baptist Seminary in Switzerland and then in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary. He is now pastor of the First Baptist Church in North Wilkesboro, North Carolina.

Paul's understanding of his apostleship is one of the primary keys to the understanding of the ministry of the Christian Church. Perhaps the most recent and thorough study of the great apostle's understanding of his own calling is the unpublished dissertation in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary by Dr. Morris Ashcraft. The fourth article in this October issue summarises Ashcraft's findings in his study. Ashcraft is now professor of religion in Furman University, after several years of teaching in the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary.

Since November is the month of Luther's birth, this seems to be an appropriate time for a fresh study of the great reformer's discovery of justification by faith. Dr. Crabtree was born in England, where he secured the B.A. and B.D. degrees from the University of Manchester and was pastor of Baptist churches in Fleetwood and Leeds. He took his Th.D. degree in the University of Zurich and was professor of theology in the Baptist Theological Seminary in Switzerland. He is now professor of theology in Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary in Philadelphia.

The sermon in this issue of the *Review and Expositor* is one which pastor Gilmore preached to his own people in the Deer Park Baptist Church in Louisville, Kentucky. Mr. Gilmore's previous pastorates were in Bloomfield, Kentucky, and Marshall, Missouri.

With this issue of the *Review and Expositor*, my editorial relations with the journal will come to an end. The same is true for Morton, Price, and Smith. It is our hope that the *Review and Expositor* will continue to render an educational function for teachers and pastors and others interested in theology. Dr. Morton is now a professor in Midwestern Baptist Theological Seminary in Kansas City, Missouri. Dr. Price is pastor of the Wornall Road Baptist Church in Kansas City, Missouri. Dr. Smith is a professor in the University of Chicago.

Readers of the *Review and Expositor* will be pleased to know that plans have been made to assure the continuation of the best journal possible. The January, 1959, issue will feature articles on Christian preaching by Professors Bjornard, Moody, Ward, Howington, and Barnette.

Professor Wayne E. Oates will assume the duties of Managing Editor beginning with Volume LVI (1959). Professors Francisco, Moody, Owens, and Jackson will become members of the Editorial Board. We look for the continuing progress of the *Review and Expositor* under the direction of an able Staff and Board.

Introduction To the Gospel of Mark

BY ROBERT G. BRATCHER

One of the important results of the study of the life of Jesus is the establishment of the priority of the Gospel of Mark over the other Synoptic Gospels. This conclusion, accepted by practically all Biblical scholars of the present day, is based upon a literary analysis of the contents of the Gospels and their inter-relationships. Carl Lachmann in 1835¹ was the first clearly to formulate this principle, which has been vindicated by the intensive investigation of the Gospels since his time. As a result, the Gospel of Mark, after long neglect, came back into its own as the most important single source for our knowledge of the life of Jesus.

I. Author, Date and Place of Writing

From the very earliest times Christian tradition has attributed the Gospel to John Mark. The earliest reference is that of Papias (*circa* 140 A.D.) who quotes the Elder John to the effect that "Mark, indeed, having been the interpreter (*hermeneutes*) of Peter, wrote accurately, howbeit not in order, all that he recalled of what was either said or done by the Lord." In so doing, "he kept a single aim in view: not to omit anything of what he heard, nor to state anything therein falsely."² If Eusebius correctly quotes Papias, and if Papias accurately reports what the Elder John said, here is testimony which may go back as early as the closing years of the first century.³ Justin Martyr refers to a Marcan passage as being from "The Memoirs of Peter,"⁴ while the anti-Marcionite Gospel prologue assigns the Gospel to Mark, Peter's "interpreter" (*interpretes*), and declares he wrote it after the death of Peter "in the regions of Italy." Mark is here called *colobodactylus* "stump-fingered," an expression

1. *Theologische Studien und Kritiken*, 1835.

2. Eusebius *H. E.* iii. 39. 15, ed. H. J. Lawlor and J. E. L. Oulton (London: S.P.C.K., 1927).

3. Cf. T. W. Manson "The Foundation of the Synoptic Tradition: the Gospel of Mark" (reprinted from *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxviii, 1, March 1944), p. 8; cf. commentaries on Mark, and see also H. A. Rigg *Novum Testamentum*, I (1956), pp. 161-183.

4. *Dialogue with Trypho*, 106.

which has received a number of explanations.⁵ Irenaeus (*circa* 180 A.D.) says that Mark, disciple and interpreter of Peter, transmitted in writing "the things preached by Peter."⁶

It is, therefore, widely accepted that the earliest Gospel was written by John Mark, companion and *hermeneutes* of Peter, in Rome,⁷ around 60-70 A.D. Some, like T. W. Manson, would date it even earlier; a few, like Bacon, would place it after the fall of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. Accepting the majority opinion, the immediate readers would have been the Christians in Rome in the days of the Neronian persecution against the Church in Rome.

So far as internal testimony to this date is concerned, the most convincing bit of evidence is the vagueness of the statement concerning "the abomination of desolation standing where he ought not to" in 13:14. The masculine participle *hestekota* "he who is standing" appears to be a purposely vague reference to some person who is taken to be the Anti-Christ; the warning which follows, "let the reader understand," was perhaps a marginal note calling the attention of the reader (that is, the reader in public worship) to the masculine participle, which does not agree with its neuter antecedent *bdelugma* "abomination."⁸ Matthew (24:15) has referred the saying to "Daniel the prophet" and has changed the masculine participle to the neuter *hestos*, making it read "(it) standing in the holy place"; Luke (21:20) has interpreted the saying as a prediction of the siege and destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans.

II. Text

Textual criticism has fairly well established the text of the Gospel: the two most important textual problems relate to 1:1 and the ending of the Gospel (see below). Some of

5. Cf. R. G. Heard, *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS VI (1956), pp. 4-6.

6. *Adv. Haer.*, III. i. 1. For the patristic evidence cf. M.-J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon Saint Marc* (Paris: J. Gabalda et Cie., 1947), pp. xix-xxvi.

7. To which I Peter 5:13 lends support.

8. Cf. B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels* (New York: Macmillan, 1925), pp. 492-3; H. A. Guy, *Expository Times*, lxx (October, 1953), p. 30.

the more important textual variants are worthy of note. In 1:41 *spagchnistheis* "moved with pity" has the support of the best external evidence, being read by most of the Greek manuscripts and versions. The variant *orgistheis* "moved with anger" has the support of Codex Bezae (D) and the Old Latin manuscripts *a*, *ff*² and *r*. C. H. Turner⁹ aptly summarizes the arguments in favor of *orgistheis*: (1) it obeys Bengel's dictum that the harder reading is to be preferred; (2) Matthew and Luke have nothing to correspond either with "moved with pity" or "moved with anger": no conceivable reason would have led them to omit "moved with pity," but it is easy to see why they would have omitted "moved with anger" (as they omitted *met' orges* "with anger" in 3:5); (3) the participle *embrimesamenos* "being indignant" in v. 43 (also omitted by Luke and Matthew) clearly shows that there was indignation on the part of Jesus. Several explanations have been given as to why Jesus should have felt anger;¹⁰ and although (or, because) one is hard put to explain anger on the part of Jesus, nevertheless it seems likely that *orgistheis* is to be preferred, and it has been adopted by Vincent Taylor,¹¹ C. H. Turner¹², T. W. Manson,¹³ and others.

Verses 44 and 46 of chapter 9 are wanting in the best manuscripts, being but a stylistic repetition of v. 48, which is genuine. With little external support, *logous* "words" in 8:38 is omitted by some scholars, so that instead of reading "of me and of my words" the saying reads "of me and mine": this omission is based rather on Marcan usage than on manuscript evidence.¹⁴ In 14:62 the addition of *su eipas hoti* "you say that" before *ego eimi* "I am" is attested to by the

9. *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxviii, 1926-7, p. 157.

10. Cf. the commentaries; see also E. Bevan, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxxiii, 1931-2, pp. 186-8; Wilfred Knox, *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels* (Cambridge: University Press, 1957), vol. I, p. 8, n. 1; C. S. C. Williams, *Alterations to the Text of the Synoptic Gospels and Acts* (Oxford: Blackwell's, 1951), p. 24.

11. *Commentary on Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1952), *in loc.*

12. *Loc. cit.*

13. *The Beginning of the Gospel* (London: Oxford University Press, 1950), p. 34.

14. Cf. C. H. Turner, *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxix, 1927-8, pp. 2-3; T. W. Manson, *Teaching of Jesus* (Cambridge: University Press, 1945), pp. 333-4; C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London: Nisbet, 1946), p. 93, n. 1.

Caesarean text, a few other Greek manuscripts, the Armenian version and Origen.¹⁵ Its inclusion would sensibly alter the meaning of the saying and would bring it into line with Matthew and Luke (which result, in itself, is a double-edged sword, capable of being used as a weapon either for or against its genuineness).

In 1:1 *huiou (tou) theou* "the Son of God" is omitted by some important manuscripts, Irenaeus¹⁶ and Origen,¹⁷ and is considered spurious by Tischendorf, Westcott and Hort, Nestle and Kilpatrick. C. H. Turner, however,¹⁸ has persuasively set forth the arguments for its genuineness, and the phrase is included by the majority of editors of the Greek text: von Soden (in brackets), Souter, Vogels, Merk, Bover, Vincent Taylor and Lagrange.

The ending of Mark (16:9-20) is almost universally recognized as spurious, since it is missing in the two oldest Greek uncial manuscripts, *Vaticanus* and *Sinaiticus*, the Sinaitic Syriac version, the Old Latin manuscript *k* (*Bobbiensis*), and important codices of the Armenian, Ethiopic and Georgian versions.¹⁹ Besides the documentary evidence as such there are statements by Eusebius (*circa* 325 A.D.) and Jerome (*circa* 407 A.D.) to the effect that the best Greek manuscripts ended the Gospel of Mark at 16:8. Few scholars believe that the author purposely ended the Gospel at 16:8;²⁰ by the majority it is held that the original ending was lost early, and lost in such a way as to preclude the possibility of its being re-written either by the author or by readers who would know its contents. T. W. Manson conjectures that the Gospel was originally issued as a codex,

15. Cf. particularly J. A. T. Robinson, *Expository Times*, lxxvii (August, 1956), pp. 338-9.

16. *Adv. Haer.*, III. x. 6, xvi. 3.

17. *Contra Celsum*, II. 4.

18. *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxviii, 1926-7, p. 160.

19. For the evidence see C. H. Legg, *Novum Testamentum Graece, Secundum Marcum* (Oxford: University Press, 1935) or Tischendorf's *Octava Major* edition of 1869; Westcott and Hort "Notes on Select Readings", *Appendix* (London: Macmillan, 1881), pp. 28-51; B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 333-360; C. S. C. Williams, *op. cit.*, pp. 40-45.

20. Austin Farrer, *A Study in St. Mark* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1951), pp. 172-181; R. H. Lightfoot, *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1950), pp. 80-97; J. M. Creed, *Commentary on Luke* (London: Macmillan, 1953), pp. 314-5.

not as a roll, and that the outer leaf, containing both the beginning and the ending of the Gospel, was lost.²¹ The so-called "Shorter Ending" was written expressly to be tacked on to 16:8 and thus fittingly bring the Gospel to an end; the "Longer Ending" (vv. 9-20), however, in all probability is a separate document which early in the second century was added to the unfinished Gospel so as to provide an account of the appearances of the risen Jesus to his followers.

Although R. H. Lightfoot²² and Lagrange²³ would argue for the canonicity of the Longer Ending, few would agree to it, and Hort well represents the prevailing opinion in concluding that "it manifestly cannot claim any apostolic authority; but it is doubtless founded on some tradition of the apostolic age."²⁴

III. Source Criticism

Various attempts have been made to identify Mark's sources. It is generally agreed that the patristic tradition concerning Mark's relation to the Apostle Peter is founded on historical fact, and that we are to see behind Mark much of the first-hand witness of Peter himself. It is impossible, however, to assume that the Gospel of Mark is only and entirely a stenographic report of Peter's "memoirs." C. H. Turner has identified and isolated what seem to him some of the distinctively Petrine sections, which may be identified by the change from the third person plural subject to the third singular, as for example in the incident beginning at 1:21: "They came to Capernaum, and straightway on the following sabbath he went to the synagogue and started teaching." If the third person plural subject is changed to first plural the narrative reads naturally as a genuine oral account, as follows: "And we came to Capernaum, and on the following sabbath he (Jesus) went . . ." etc. (cf. also 5:38, 9:33, 11:12, etc.).²⁵

Mark's use of the pre-Markan source Q is a disputed

21. *Art. cit.*, pp. 5-8.

22. *Op. cit.*, p. 116, footnote.

23. *Op. cit.*, pp. 462-3.

24. F. J. A. Hort, "Notes on Select Readings," *op. cit.*, p. 51.

25. *Journal of Theological Studies*, xxvi, 1924-5, pp. 228-231.

question, some scholars feeling Mark did use Q²⁶ and others just as positively convinced that he did not.²⁷

There is general agreement, however, that Mark did incorporate into his work several sections which already existed as complete units, whether written or not, before his Gospel was written. Vincent Taylor²⁸ identifies and analyzes what he calls the various "complexes" which already existed as independent units before Mark's Gospel, while W. L. Knox's posthumous *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels, I: St. Mark* minutely studies the whole Gospel for the identification and isolation of the various independent units (cf. the useful summary on pp. 150-1). H. A. Guy²⁹ assigns to a compiler (as distinguished from the "editor" who would be reckoned, by modern standards, as the author of the Gospel of Mark) the gathering of the various written units into one group, after which the editor arranged them in final order, adding the connecting links between the various independent units (cf. especially pp. 122-146).

Regardless of the variant details of such schemes, the main thesis of such approaches is plausible enough. The oral and literary periods of the transmission of the gospel tradition were not so rigidly fixed and distinct as to compel the viewpoint that at first a purely oral period existed, when all gospel tradition was transmitted *viva voce*: in time, this period gave way to the period of written tradition when all was transmitted by means of written documents. In the nature of the case the literary activity of Christian evangelists and teachers must have begun quite early in the life of the nascent Church, while the oral method of transmission would continue long after Mark's Gospel (and/or the other Synoptic Gospels) was written, especially when due account is taken of the predilection the ancients had for "live" oral transmission of tradition over written documents.

26. Cf. E. F. Scott, *The Literature of the New Testament* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1947), pp. 43-44.

27. Cf. B. H. Streeter, *op. cit.*, pp. 186-191.

28. *Op. cit.* pp. 90-104.

29. *The Origin of the Gospel of Mark* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1954), *passim*.

IV. Form Criticism

The somewhat infelicitous term "form criticism" (a translation of the German *Formgeschichte*, "history of form") is an attempt to define and identify the various "forms" the early narratives took in the period of oral transmission. As a purely literary tool it is useful in attempting to reconstruct the various molds into which the gospel material was poured as it was used in the preaching and teaching activity of the Church.³⁰

Form critics, however, in the laudable attempt to re-create the *Sitz im Leben* "life-situation" of the Christian community during the early, pre-literary period, have exceeded the legitimate bounds of their enquiry by attributing creative function, and not simply formative force, to the Christian community. The "form" in which the material was transmitted was certainly the creation of the Christian community: the material itself, however, was not created by the community, and its origin must be sought not in the "life-situation" of the Church but in the life-situation of the ministry of Jesus.

That the Church selected and adapted the material according to the manifold needs of its preaching, teaching and worshipping life, is undeniable. But that the Church should have invented the material in order to meet its needs—and that, therefore, we are able to discover those needs by the nature of the material—is simply to argue in a circle. Certainly the Christian communities chose, selected, remembered and transmitted that part of the tradition which was relevant to their needs, even as Paul did in his letters: for it is estimated that the whole quadri-Gospel account of our Lord's ministry covers no more than forty separate days, while all the recorded sayings would have taken less than six hours to be uttered. And while perhaps other Christian preachers and teachers were not always so careful as was Paul in distinguishing between his own teachings and that which he had "received from the Lord" (by which he meant that which he had received by oral transmission from those

30. For a good treatment of the subject in English cf. Basil Redlich, *Form Criticism* (London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1939), especially pp. 77-80; Vincent Taylor, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London: Macmillan, 1949).

who had been "eye-witnesses and ministers of the Word"), we may be assured that in general Paul's rule would be practiced in the entire Christian community.

Form critics have also erred in prejudging the historicity of the tradition by the form it took, so that the forms themselves become proof and guarantee that the material they enshrine is of greater or lesser historical value than that preserved in other forms. To this it has well been said: "As a historical tool . . . we should limit form criticism to the history of the material and its use in the church; it will hardly provide us with primary evidence for the history of the church or the historical accuracy of the tradition."³¹ And T. W. Manson in characteristic fashion comments: "A paragraph of Mark is not a penny the better or the worse as historical evidence for being labelled 'apophthegm' or 'pronouncement story' or 'paradigm'."³²

The positive value of form study has been to make us aware of the forces and needs within the primitive Christian community which would lead to the selection, preservation and crystallization of the limited amount of tradition which was finally enshrined within the Gospels.

This reconstruction of the manner in which the material was finally gathered in a written document, the Gospel of Mark, as furnished by the form critics, is the one which holds the field today, answering as it does in greater measure than any other hypothesis the various questions which arise in the study of the Gospel history.³³

Mention should be made of Carrington's attempt to explain the Marcan narrative on the basis of what he supposes to have been the lectionary practice of the early Church.³⁴

31. A. M. Perry, "The Growth of the Gospels," *Interpreter's Bible* (Nashville: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951), vol. VII, p. 71b.

32. "The Life of Jesus: Some Tendencies in Present-Day Research," *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology* (Cambridge: University Press, 1956), p. 212.

33. Cf. Vincent Taylor's judicious account of "Mark's Use of Gospel Tradition" in *Bulletin S.N.T.S.*, III, 1952, pp. 29-39.

34. Philip Carrington, *The Primitive Christian Calendar* (Cambridge: University Press, 1952); cf. his article in *Expository Times*, lxvii (January, 1956), pp. 100-103; cf. the analysis and critique by W. D. Davies in *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, pp. 124-152.

Austin Farrer's bizarre theory is as ingenious as it is unconvincing.³⁵

V. *The Nature of the Gospel*

Regardless of how and by what means the gospel material was preserved and transmitted in the Early Church, with the appearance of the Gospel of Mark we are faced with a new literary work. Here is a piece of literature which the Church was later to call "a Gospel": and it is upon the finished work itself that our major interest must center. What caused Mark to compose the Gospel? What was his purpose in producing the document we now call "the Gospel according to Mark"?

Literary activity before Mark—besides the fixing in writing of the various units of tradition he himself incorporated into his Gospel—may help us understand why the Gospel, as such, was written. Paul's letters are, of course, the earliest literary works preserved in the New Testament, all of them written before the Gospel of Mark. Each letter arose out of a specific need in a church, or group of churches, and it was in response to these needs that Paul wrote his letters. In them he had very little occasion to refer to the actual deeds of the ministry of Jesus in Palestine, and so there is very little historical material to be found in them. Perhaps the earliest of all literary activity in the Church was the compiling of Old Testament passages which set the framework for the ministry of Jesus. These "Testimonies," as they are called, would be used primarily by preachers in Jewish communities to prove to the listeners that Jesus of Nazareth in his ministry, death and resurrection had fulfilled the prophetic scriptures of the Old Testament. "It was from this invariable need of *apologia* that Christian literature must have taken its rise, in the writing down of Old Testament passages, together with events in which they found fulfilment."³⁶ In like vein F. C. Burkitt wrote: "To collect and apply the Oracles of the Old Testa-

35. *A Study in St. Mark* (Westminster: Dacre Press, 1951); cf. retractions and rearrangements in *Journal of Theological Studies*, NS IV, 1953, pp. 1-14.

36. A. H. McNeile, *An Introduction to the Study of the New Testament* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 3.

ment in the light of the New Dispensation was the first literary task of the Christian Church."³⁷

Earlier than the Gospel of Mark is the non-Markan source common to Matthew and Luke, conveniently called "Q".³⁸ On the extent and contents of the hypothetical document "Q" there is no settled agreement and, of late, a determined assault on the validity of the hypothesis has been made.³⁹ It remains, however, the most satisfactory explanation for the source of the non-Markan material common to Matthew and Luke and may be retained as a working hypothesis. Though consisting mainly of the teachings of Jesus, "Q" also contained some historical data.⁴⁰ A date in the fifties for the origin of "Q" would seem to fit the requirements of the case.

Before Mark wrote his Gospel, therefore, there were in the Christian communities letters, "testimonies" and a compilation of some of the teachings of Jesus, in written form. Beyond this it would appear that some of the details of the ministry of Jesus, particularly those related to the Passion week, would have been preserved very early in writing. Though the Gospel of Mark is the most ancient written document concerning the life of Jesus that has survived until the present day, it was not, by any means, the first one in the Christian community to deal with the historical Jesus. In the light of what had already been written, therefore, Mark's Gospel does not so much represent a divergence from the norm as the culmination of a process which had already been going on for about a generation after the death and resurrection of Jesus.

At the very outset of the Church's preaching and teaching ministry there would not have been much demand or

37. *The Gospel History and its Transmission* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1906), p. 127.

38. Commonly assumed to stand for the German *Quelle* "source": for another explanation of its origin cf. R. H. Lightfoot, *History and Interpretation in the Gospels* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1935), p. 27, n. 1.

39. Cf. particularly A. M. Farrer, "On Dispensing with Q" in *Studies in the Gospels* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1955), pp. 55-86.

40. Cf. the reconstruction of Q in Streeter, *op. cit.* pp. 271-292; T. W. Manson, *The Sayings of Jesus in The Mission and Message of Jesus* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1947), pp. 299-440.

need for a written account of the life of Jesus. In Jewish circles more interest was attached to the teachings of a notable teacher than to the historical details of his life. Furthermore the early Church lived in the earnest expectation of the imminent parousia of her Lord. After a period of some 25-30 years, however, with the waning of this hope and the death of some of the eye-witnesses, there would arise, in some churches at least, a desire and demand for a reliable account of Jesus' earthly ministry. And Rome would be a most logical locale for such an interest: "The Church of Rome becomes interested in history; it demands at least a record of the Founder's life. The Gospel of Mark is the response to that demand."⁴¹ As a matter of fact Clement of Alexandria reports this to have been the origin of Mark:

When Peter had publicly preached the word at Rome, and by the Spirit had proclaimed the Gospel, . . . those present, who were many, exhorted Mark, as one who had followed him for a long time and remembered what had been spoken, to make a record of what was said; and he did this and distributed the Gospel among those that asked him.⁴²

It may be postulated, therefore, that a desire to have a connected account of the ministry of Jesus, a sheer curiosity on the part of Christians as to what Jesus had done, was an important element in the production of the Gospel.

It is at least conceivable that one of the chief motives for preserving the stories at all, and for selecting those that were embodied in the Gospels, was just plain admiration and love for their hero . . . The career of such a person must have an interest of its own and for its own sake, and the openings of all three Synoptics seem to suggest that this interest was the most effective motive behind both the demand for and the supply of Gospel material.⁴³

Another motive may be seen in the situation of the Church in Rome in the seventh decade of the first Christian

41. Streeter, *op. cit.*, p. 497.

42. *Apud* Eusebius, *H. E.* vi. 14.

43. T. W. Manson, "The Life of Jesus: Some Tendencies in Present-Day Research," *The Background of the New Testament and its Eschatology*, pp. 214, 215.

century. It was a church that lived under the shadow of persecution, and Rawlinson has emphasized how the Gospel would meet the needs of such a situation.⁴⁴

VI. *The Purpose of the Gospel*

Above all, however, we must conclude that the purpose of the Gospel is to be found in the nature of the book itself. The Gospel of Luke explicitly states its purpose (Lk. 1:1-4) and so does the Gospel of John (20:30-31); the Gospel of Matthew, while not explicit, clearly shows its purpose to be the demonstration and proof of the fact that Jesus of Nazareth was the promised Messiah of the Jews foretold in the Old Testament Scriptures.

Mark's purpose may be inferred from the way in which he begins his work (assuming 1:1 to be autographical): "The beginning of the Good News about Jesus Christ, the Son of God." The purpose of the author is not biographical, and he does not propose to write a "Life of Jesus" as a historical exercise. His purpose is religious and arises from his understanding of what is meant by the Good News proclaimed by the Christian Church. He does not write, however, to "prove" to the readers that Jesus of Nazareth was, in fact, the Messiah, the Son of God: both Mark and his readers already believe this. Such faith, anyhow, does not come about as a result of the knowledge of the historical details of the life and ministry of Jesus of Nazareth: the confession that Jesus is Lord is not the result of human achievement, but comes as a divine revelation (Mt. 16:17, I Co. 12:3b).

Mark wrote as a Christian for Christians, proposing to relate the beginning of the Church's Good News about Jesus, i.e. how it was that the Church came to believe and proclaim that Jesus was the Messiah, the Son of God. Borrowing from the beginning of the Bible (Gen. 1:1, LXX), Mark sets forth to relate the *arche*, the beginning, the *genesis* of the Church's faith and message about Jesus Christ. The word *euangelion* in Mark's time was already a fully Christian term, and Paul's definition of "the gospel of God" in Ro.

44. *Commentary on Mark* (London: Methuen & Co., 1953), pp. 111-112; E. F. Scott, *The Purpose of the Gospels* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1949), pp. 88-91, 94.

1:1-4 (cf. 1:9 and 1:15-17) may serve to show what the Christians in Rome understood the "gospel" to be. The "gospel" is not simply a historical term: it is soteriological, "the power of God into salvation to every one who believes," in which "God's righteousness is revealed from faith into faith" (Ro. 1:16-17).

It is not *simply* to satisfy historical curiosity, therefore, that Mark writes: it is to meet a very real religious need of the Christian community of his own day—and of all time—, to wit, the Church's perennial need to understand the origin of her faith and message, rooted firmly in the thirties of the first Christian century. We may be indeed grateful that Mark did produce his Gospel and that it was, strangely enough, retained by the Church in the canon.

Mark's narrative of the events of Christ's life is vivid, unpolished and life-like. He includes details which have no particular purpose, but which confirm his originality, as compared with Matthew and Luke who frequently improve his Greek and often modify or omit details which could be taken as irreverent or misleading.

Such vividness in details makes the narrative all the more trustworthy. The separate units of tradition are brought together in a chronological framework which is, on the whole, plausible. We must remember, however, Papias' statement that Mark did not attempt to record "in order" the events as they occurred. Some critics have denied that the chronological and topographical details of the Gospel are to be trusted, but were supplied by the author himself without any real knowledge of the facts. Against such extreme skepticism C. H. Dodd examines the evidence and concludes: "There is good reason to believe that in broad lines the Marcan orders does represent a genuine succession of events, within which movement and development can be traced."⁴⁵

45. "The Framework of the Gospel Narrative," *Expository Times*, xliii, 1931-2, pp. 396-44; republished in *New Testament Studies* (Manchester: University Press, 1953), pp. 1-11. Cf. also T. W. Manson, art. cit., p. 213: "I am increasingly convinced that the Marcan story presents in the main an orderly and logical development; and that this development or framework has as good a title to be considered reliable historical material as any particular anecdote incorporated in it."

What is the nature of the "history of Jesus" Mark records? Let it be clearly stated that at no time in the Christian tradition did there ever exist a bare, stenographic account of the deeds of Jesus, devoid of any interpretation. The recognition of this axiomatic fact will free us from approaching the Gospel in a spirit utterly foreign to its purpose, and demand from it something it does not intend to do. The Gospel is not an "impartial" and "objective" reporter and witness: it is frankly and confessedly apologetic and propagandistic in its approach. This is not to say that it is unreal or untrue: on the contrary, the Christian faith holds that it is supremely true, that its interpretation of what happened is as essential to true understanding and exposition of the truth as that which happened itself. So C. H. Dodd defines history as events which are occurrence plus meaning, and says: "The events are such that the meaning of what happened is of greater importance, historically speaking, than what happened."⁴⁶

What kind of history is this? What is the nature of these "events"? Mark does not write simply as a secular historian or a Jewish observer of certain matters that took place in Palestine in the early thirties. He writes a member of the community which came into being as a result of the death and resurrection of its Lord: he cannot, therefore, know "the Jesus of history" simply *kata sarka*, "after the flesh," but only *kata pistin*, "according to faith." He cannot view Jesus simply as a Jewish wonderworking Rabbi who gathered a group of followers, antagonized the religious authorities in Jerusalem and was put to death on a cross. On the contrary, the resurrected and reigning Lord whom he knows by faith is the same as the Jesus of Galilee and Jerusalem; and, conversely, this Jesus of whom he writes in the past tense is the one he worships and proclaims in the present: there is no discontinuity between the two.

This is to say that Mark's history is eschatological history, dealing with events which occurred in the "end-time," God's time, the *kairos* of God's redemptive act, of the presence and coming of the Kingdom. Eschatology in the New Testament is God's time of salvation. The whole

⁴⁶ *History and the Gospel* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938), p. 105.

Gospel is thoroughly and completely eschatological: Mark's "eschatology" is not to be extracted, piecemeal, from various sayings, the majority of them concentrated in chapter 13. From the very beginning his narrative is of eschatological events: God's promised "messenger" (Mal. 3:1) who is "a voice of one crying out in the wilderness" (Isa. 40:3) concerning God's salvation, is an eschatological figure, and his message is eschatological, as he summons Israel to his repentance-baptism for the forgiveness of sins. This Elijah (1:6; cf. 2 Sam. 1:8; cf. Mk. 9:11-13) speaks of the "Coming One" who is greater than he, who will baptize with the Holy Spirit (1:8). So Jesus comes to John's baptism, the heavens are rent open, he hears God's voice, and the Spirit descends into him: all of these events are eschatological, which is to say, they all have to do with God's decisive act of redemption, the coming of God's kingdom, the breaking in of the future age into this age. Eschatological time in the New Testament is not what we, in the Greek manner, conceive of as "eternity": it is God's time, of the same nature as and contiguous with historical time. Eschatology is not something that happens outside of time: it is the influx of the future age, of God's time, into the present.⁴⁷ So W. G. Kümmel defines it: "The present possesses a definite eschatological character on account of the breaking in of the coming Kingdom through Jesus in the present."⁴⁸

The message which Jesus, after John's arrest, proclaims in Galilee is eschatological: "The time of God's salvation is here, the Kingdom of God has arrived: repent and believe the Gospel!" (1:15). The call to the disciples, the cures, the exorcisms, the teaching with power—all of these are evidences of the fact that God's Kingdom is a present reality, that the eschatological hour has arrived.

No less than the deeds themselves, the teachings (cf. the parables, chapter 4) and the title which Jesus assumes are eschatological in nature. This "Son of Man" has, on earth, the eschatological power to forgive sins (2:10): he is Lord of the Sabbath (2:28). The title on the lips of Jesus combines the Isaianic "Servant of Yahweh," who suffers for his

47. Cf. in particular Oscar Cullman, *Christ and Time* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950).

48. *Promise and Fulfilment* (London: SCM Press, 1947), p. 136.

people's redemption, and the Danielic "Son of Man" to whom is given the kingdom and the dominion and the glory (Dan. 7:14, 18): so it is that the Son of Man came to serve and give his life a ransom for many (10:45), and it is the Son of Man who will come in the glory of his Father with the holy angels (8:38).

There is no need further to explore the theme: enough has been said to indicate what appears to this writer to be the thought and purpose of Mark as he wrote his Gospel. In order to understand him we must know and share his presuppositions and his basic convictions. We do not, therefore, approach the Gospel as impartial critics, but as convinced believers, truly believing that to us God has given the mystery of the Kingdom, to wit, that God's Reign, inaugurated in the person of his Son, awaits its fulfilment in the coming of the Son of Man in power; in the eschatological community which awaits his parousia the powers of the future age are already at work, in the forgiveness of sins; and though persecution and suffering be its present lot, its final destiny is to share in the glory of the Son of Man.

Exposition of the Gospel of Mark

BY R. C. BRIGGS

In the history of its interpretation, the Gospel of Mark possesses both an intricate and rich heritage. Since it was the earliest of the Gospels to be written, it served as a source for Matthew and Luke. Matthew, largely because of its greater utilitarian value and embellished interpretative additions, soon largely supplanted it in the life of the Christian community. Recent investigation has, however, restored Mark to a position of prestige which is consonant with that of its original rank. It is now clear that this critical investigation has served not only to enhance its recognized value as a source for the study of the life of Jesus but, in a degree not at first recognized, it has also gone far in disclosing the basic presuppositions upon which the author wrote. As a consequence of the analysis of the sources of the Synoptic Gospels,¹ there were tendencies at times to look upon Mark as a solitary citadel into which one could retreat for the study of 'objective' history which it reported. In spite of the fact that the work of analysis has not offered a solution to all the problems connected with the motif which lies behind the work at many points, it is evident that Mark did not write as a scientific historian with the purpose of producing an objective record of the life of Jesus, as objectivity is interpreted in the scientific circles of our day. If one may judge his effort in the light of the unfolding evidence produced by critical investigation, he desired rather to bear a witness concerning the significance of Jesus, whom he described as the Son of God. As the earliest written testimony which is possessed, the author presents a 'Gospel' which both arose within and was intended for the believing community. Standing within this context, the author sought to bear a believing witness to believers. The validity of his message was derived from sources other than those of objective history since it stood above history and bore its message concerning the meaning

1. Fredrick C. Grant, *The Gospels, Their Origin and Growth* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1957), pp. 108-116; W. L. Knox, *St. Mark* (Vol. I of *Sources of Synoptic Gospels*, Cambridge at the University Press, 1953), pp. 1-149. These works represent recent expressions of this method as applied to Mark.

which is to be perceived in it. Stated otherwise, the author wrote what has been called theological history.² When one makes these affirmations regarding the character and purpose of the book, he is not thereby relegating it to the realm of worthlessness or even indifference as a record of actual historical event but asserting that the work does not depend upon this prior norm as a basis for its validity. Resting upon a confession which is common to its readers and author, it understands the material as a medium for the illumination of a stream of experience which provides for them a common heritage and hope.

I. Introduction — 1:1-13

Properly speaking verse one perhaps ought to be viewed as a superscription for the entire book rather than a part of Chapter one. Although the textual evidence is not decisive at this point, the most probable reading ought to be as follows: "The beginning of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, the Son of God."³ Mark, like Paul, saw the resurrection as the moment of installation to the position of Son. The Confession of the early Christian community has here become the handmaid to introduce the earliest written Gospel. For the writer, as well as the readers, the word for gospel (*euangellion*) connoted the message about Jesus Christ which was preached by the believing community as the basis of its existence. Jesus, being the point of confession for the Christian, could not have preached the gospel in the sense here used and the technical designation of a book of the Bible by this name arose in the middle of the second century.

John, who is called the baptizer, is introduced as the prophet who became the channel through whom preparation was made for the entrance of the Son of God upon his ministry. This preparation was later consummated by the act by which the Son of God actively entered upon his mission. John is pictured as an eschatological herald of the impending culmination of the present cause of world history

2. James M. Robinson, *The Problem of History in Mark* (Studies in Biblical Theology, No. 1. Napierville, Ill: Alec. R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 12-15; G. Dehn, *Der Gottessohn* (Hamburg: Im Furche Verlag, 1953), pp. 15-16.

3. Grant, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

and the coming of the Kingdom of God. He stood as one in a line of prophets whose apocalyptic expectation found its most forceful expression in the century and one half immediately preceding the time of Jesus. One can discern a deliberate purpose on the part of the author to describe him as a member of this company by numerous aspects of the account; namely, the scriptures which are quoted, the emphasis placed upon his character and general demeanor and the statement that all of the land of Judea and of the City of Jerusalem went out to him. As an integral part of his proclamation of the imminence of the Kingdom, he issued a call for preparation which was offered in terms of a baptism which was in some way related to repentance. The problem of an exact understanding of this phenomenon of his baptism is a difficult one and mutually exclusive viewpoints have been expressed.⁴ The total evidence appears to point in the direction of Jewish proselyte baptism as the nearest approach to a forerunner of John's baptism though one must hasten to affirm that there is something distinctive and unique in this rite as practiced by John. It is separated from this nearest of its parents by its demand for repentance, its inclusion of the entire Jewish nation in its demand for acceptance, the finality with which it was performed once and for all and the practice of being administered by another rather than self administered. The possibility of a close relationship with the baths of religions outside Judaism is not considered to be a serious one. In this way, it is a unique phenomenon which was separated from its antecedents as well as Christian baptism which followed it and shared its outward form. The connection which it had with repentance is best understood if it is seen as expressing repentance by its performance. Its limitations are seen in the announcement of the one who is to come with a baptism of the Holy Spirit (1:8-9). The question is raised, nevertheless, with respect to the validity of the forgiveness of sins which is attributed to it. Even though it is a part of the

4. Erich Klostermann, *Das Markusevangelium* (Vierte, Ergaenzte Auflage; *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*, No. 3 Tuebingen: Verlag J. C. B. Mohr, 1950), p. 6; H. D. A. Major, T. W. Manson, and C. J. Wright, *The Mission and Message of Jesus* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Co., Inc., 1938), p. 333; Markus Barth, *Die Taufe—Ein Sacrament?* (Zollikon-Zurich: Evangelischer Verlag, 1951), pp. 103-104.

present aeon (*aion*) rather than the coming one, it still is described as a baptism for (*eis*) the forgiveness of sins. Dispensational elements have been attached to the discussion which were certainly not present for the author of Mark. This rite, expressive of repentance toward God, is to be seen as possessing a validity of its own even though its fruition is depicted as taking place in the future.⁵ This eschatological prophet and his message and rite remained so significant in Christian tradition that Mark chose to introduce the story of the coming of the Son of God by this prelude; in fact, Jesus and John are described as standing within the same context and occupying a complementary relationship to the same event.⁶

The dramatic consummation of John's ministry is the inauguration of that of the Son of God. Its basis in fact is attested by its preservation in Christian tradition in spite of the embarrassment which it created in later times.⁷ Here the significance is for Jesus alone. The problems of a later date as they relate to sinlessness on the part of Jesus had not yet arisen and the various solutions for the problem which one finds in the New Testament had not yet arisen. The response of Jesus to the call of John is presented as a most normal and logical one. Jesus, who shared John's eschatological expectation, found in the proclamation of the prophet a point of personal response to the will of God. Two aspects of his experience seem to be constitutive in the account; namely, the descent of the spirit and the voice formally declaring him to be the Son of God.⁸ In Mark, the voice is described as coming to Jesus only and the dove is pictured in terms consonant with Jewish imagery of the first century in its description of the spirit. For Jesus, this experience mediates a deepened awareness of a relationship to God which is described in terms of Sonship. This is a

5. G. Dehn, *op. cit.*, pp. 30ff., takes an opposite view in asserting that nothing was fulfilled by John's baptism.

6. Erich Graesser, *Das Problem der Parousieverzoegerung in den Synoptischen Evangelien und in der Apostelgeschichte* (Berlin: Verlag Alfred Toepfelmann, 1957), pp. 3-4.

7. Martin Dibelius, *From Tradition to Gospel*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (London: Ivor Nicholson and Watson, 1934), pp. 271-274, represents the viewpoint that the story is a reflection of the early church on the matter of the origin of Christian baptism.

8. Johannes Schneider, *Die Taufe im Neuen Testament* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer Verlag, 1952), p. 35.

divergent idea from that which is found in Matthew who interprets the experience as one of messianic dedication. This act of self-commitment on the part of Jesus is called forth by the message of John and its consequences for him are described in the terminology supplied by Jewish imagery.⁹ Taylor¹⁰ and Bieneck¹¹ see the designation as one which is derived from a Jewish background but which relates to his person instead of his work as Messiah. It transcends the messiahship as it was conceived in Jewish thought and designates a relationship and essential meaning which is descriptive of his essential person. Thus understood it both points toward and in some way participates in eschatological fulfilment. Essentially futuristic in its essence, it nevertheless is here related to the prophet who brings forth the Son of God who is the initiator of the new age.

The conclusion to the introductory section arises out of the interpretation of the baptismal experience and the witness granted to Jesus in it; Jesus is driven into the wilderness by the Spirit to be tested by Satan. This picture is one drawn with the aid of imagery indigenous to the Old Testament. The forty days reminds one of the experience of Moses on the mountain. Jewish concepts represent Satan as an inhabitant of the desert and angels as bringing succor to the man of God. The period in the desert is the temptation here. Matthew sees in it the problem of Jewish messianic expectations and world power and describes the experience in the form of a rabbinic discussion between Jesus and Satan. Seen as a whole, the narrative answers to the necessary implications of the experience of designation as Son of God who must now go forth to confront the Prince of Evil whom he has come to destroy. This is the preview of the plot of the story: Jesus, the Son of God by divine designation is described as one who has come forth in the midst of history to do battle with the powers of evil.

9. B. Harvie Branscomb, *The Gospel of Mark* (The Moffatt New Testament Commentary: London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1941), p. 19; Julius Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Das Neue Testament Deutsch, No. 1: Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1952), p. 47, ably presents a different viewpoint.

10. Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1952), p. 158ff.

11. Joachim Bieneck, *Sohn Gottes als Christusbezeichnung der Synoptiker* (Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1951), p. 48.

II. *The Initiation of the Activity of the Son of God* — 1:14-3:6

Following the introductory section, the quality of Jesus' ministry, as the Son of God, is indicated by a series of selected stories which are designed to bear witness to his person. The proclamation is that of a herald with a clear bugle call; repent and believe because the Kingdom of God has come near. This reiteration of John's call is also the essential description of Jesus' proclamation and may be seen as the bridge between the two. The nearness of the Kingdom¹² and the imminent dawning of the new world¹³ are elements of this apocalyptic expectation which is voiced again on Jewish ears. This appears to have been the tradition in the mid-sixties of Mark's day and there is abundant evidence that it represents a faithful preservation of Jesus' message. In preparation for and as evidence of the acceptance of this interpretation of the times, a call to repentance and faith is sent forth. Bearing the connotation of a radical turning from all that is indicated by the term self and a response of radical commitment to God, this message reappears as the basic idea of the *Kerugma* of the Christian church. Attention scarcely needs to be called to the fact of the gross errors which have arisen from a superficial grasp of these spiritual attitudes as pangs of emotional remorse and intellectual acquiescence to a formulated body of doctrine. Understood as they appear in the New Testament they denote the moral attitude of the total person who sees in each new day an additional call for turning and responsible commitment to the will of the living God.

The interlude between the dramatic announcement of the inauguration of Jesus' ministry and the description of the nature of that ministry is occupied with a reference to the call of those who were to be associated with him in the task to which he had committed himself. In this sense it may be an anticipatory announcement of the expansive aspect of his work which is described in 3:7ff.

12. Werner Georg Kummel, *Promise and Fulfilment*, trans. Dorothea M. Barton (Napierville, Ill.: Alec R. Allenson, Inc., 1957), pp. 23-25.

13. C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London: Nisbet and Co., 2nd Edition, 1943), p. 44, says that the message of the passage is, "The Kingdom of God has come." This position is untenable.

In the closing section of Chapter one (Verses 21-39), selected incidents from the life of Jesus are compiled in such a way as to paint an illustrative picture of the quality of his entire work. It is probable that this section is the result of Mark's own arrangement since it is a unit and also is clearly adapted to the purpose of the author. Arranged around the chronology of a day and the geography of Capernaum, its real purpose encompasses all of the life of Jesus. The fundamental implications of what is expressed are clear: Jesus is the Son of God who in his exorcistic activity initiates now, in the midst of historical circumstance, the conflict which was adumbrated in cosmic terms in the temptation experience.¹⁴ In the exorcistic activity, there is given not only a glimpse of the nature and character of the coming victory but also a demonstration of its present incipency.¹⁵ Mystery and majesty are the attributes of this divine person and these qualities are manifest as he is seen silencing the demons whom he has overcome or withdrawing to the solitude of the mountain for the deepening of the unique fellowship with the Father which is his. It is at this point that a problem emerges for the interpreter of the Gospel. In the effort to use the ministry of Jesus as a witness to the nature of his person, the problem is born concerning the vacuum which exists between the person of Jesus and the apprehension of this person by men. When the Christian confession to Jesus expressed itself in the light of the resurrection and the coming of the Holy Spirit, it was inevitable that the possibility of the 'Messianic Secret' should arise. No universally accepted answer to this problem has been given but it appears that its origin is to be sought in the process by which the tradition was formulated and interpreted rather than within the tradition itself.

The concluding witness to the character of Jesus' person as expressed by the nature of his ministry is found in the stories commonly designated as 'conflict stories.' They are to be found in 2:1-3:6 with a possible addition of 11:27-12:37. One discovers very soon that these stories, like those of the

14. Robinson, *op. cit.*, p. 34.

15. Klostermann, *op. cit.*, pp. 14-16; Ernest Lohmeyer, *Das Evangelium des Markus* (12 Auflage, Kritisch-exegetischer Kommentar über das Neue Testament, Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1953), pp. 38-39.

day's ministry in Capernaum, really are composed of incidents and sayings which have been taken from the entire ministry of Jesus. The explanation behind this methodology is the same in both cases; namely, theological rather than chronological purposes have motivated the author in his work so that they stand in a primary-secondary relationship in the narratives. It is normal to see the conflict between Jesus and the Pharisees as having fully developed only after an attempt on the part of Jesus to reach them. Here they serve the dogmatic purpose of further illuminating the character of his ministry and contribute thereby to the unfolding picture of his person. It may be that it is seen by the author as an enlargement of the area of the conflict of the previous chapter, or it is possible that a conflict setting has been imposed upon the material to answer the question concerning the reason behind the cross.¹⁶ It is seen upon further reflection that the conflicts represent both those which assumed some measure of importance during the earthly ministry of Jesus and also those which were present for the church at the time of the writing of Mark. The question of the prerogative of the forgiveness of sins (2:1-12) and the finality of the Jewish practice of fasting (2:18-20) would find their point of relevance in the conflicts of the early church while the problem of the absolutism of the Mosaic regulations concerning ceremonial defilement and food regulations (2:13-17) was doubtless raised in an acute form in Jesus' own day. It is understandable that the lengthy section which is given to the problem of Sabbath observance (2:23-3:6) may bear eloquent testimony to the cruciality of the issue which was raised when the Christian community worshipped regularly on Sunday instead of the Sabbath.

III. *Ministry in Galilee* — 3:7-6:29

The section included in these chapters is somewhat confusing to the interpreter. Is there to be found here a theological motif which moves toward a climax or is the material arranged under the idea of a geographical unit? Taylor¹⁷ sees it as a movement toward the apex of the

16. Knox, *op. cit.*, pp. 8-15.

17. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

Galilean ministry and understands the unit to end at 6:13; Lohmeyer¹⁸ essentially follows the same outline but divides the unit at 6:16. Other suggestions see chapter five as the end of this unit of material. Although it is tempting to press this varied material into a mould derived from one aspect of its message, it is perhaps correct to understand it as a collection of widely differing pericopae which have been moulded into a unity by the author around the geographical section of Galilee, the land of fulfilment.

Without previous preparation, the author introduces a picture of amazing success for Jesus (3:7-12). Crowds throng him who heals their diseases and frees them from the power of the demonic. It is likely that there is here a section which is a free composition by the author out of the tradition of Jesus' success. The lack of indication in the earlier part of the book that such success was achieved is a problem for the modern reader but would raise no difficulty for the author since his story at this point is directed at calling attention to Jesus as the one who brings fulfilment in God's name to those of all lands bordering Galilee, Samaria excepted. The recurrent 'secrecy' motif occurs in this setting. Since the effort to locate it in the tradition itself has met with almost insuperable difficulties, it appears one must look either to the church or the author for the answer. Is there a point for consideration in the discussion of the relation of the concept of Son of God and Messiah? If these titles are not mutually identical, it may well be that the 'secret' relates to Jesus' person as Son rather than his office as Messiah. Recently it has been suggested that the present description may be in quite another form than that in which it originally occurred.¹⁹

Not only does the work of Jesus as Son of God find expression in a larger measure in that he enters the conflict at a more determinative level but the channel through which this expression is to take place is enlarged. In the selection of the twelve (3:13-19), a core of eschatological people are selected who are to share both the gifts and the

18. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 70.

19. F. C. Grant, *The Gospel According to Mark* (Vol. 7 of *The Interpreter's Bible*, ed. G. A. Buttrick. 12 Vols.; New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951), pp. 684-685.

purposes of Jesus.²⁰ It is significant that this group is pictured in Mark as designated for this mission and apparently afterwards is only of historical interest. Its members become significant only as they find their places in the Apostles' group in Jerusalem and there is no indication that they were given rights of government or places of authority in the church on the basis of the appointment here. It may well be that the later designation of Apostle is to be derived from the period of Paul's activity rather than that of Jesus.

The concluding section of chapter three (Verses 20-35) deals with the relation of Jesus to various groups. In one respect, this may also be characterized as expression of the conflict motif in that the resistance even of friends and family is noted. Inserted between the pericope concerning the distress of friends over his mental derangement²¹ and the reluctance of his own family to place real credence in his work is a compilation of sayings which are derived ultimately from the exorcistic activities of Jesus (Verses 20-30). The form of the accusation is that of blasphemy in neglecting to give God the credit by doing it in God's name rather than his own. Also, the implication is drawn that in reality this blasphemer is working under the authority of the Prince of Demons. The charge is dismissed by calling attention to the implication of the existence of a superior power which is the basis for all exorcistic activity. Only God is superior to Satan and the answer is that he alone could perform this work. Mark interpreted this accusation as evidence of what has been commonly designated as the 'unforgivable sin.' Since Luke 12:10 locates the saying in another context, this statement represents Mark's interpretation of the character of the sin just described. In its background, this sin of blasphemy against the Holy Spirit is doubtless related to the sins with a high hand in the Old Testament. The sin of apostasy also comes to mind in Hebrews. One wonders if such a concept of the Holy Spirit existed in Jesus' day at all and if this is not rather the combination of the Old Testament concept of sins for which there could be no atonement with the Christian community's horror at what it found in its tradition at this point. It ought clearly to be

20. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-75.

21. Branscomb, *op. cit.*, pp. 67-68.

stated in any case, that the real issue is the heinous character of the sin committed and that the essential emphasis is to be placed on the fact of moral perversion to the point of incapacity to make moral distinctions thus closing the door to the possibility of repentance and faith.

The changing picture portrays Jesus as a teacher (4:1-34). At the point of the parables, the interpreter perhaps encounters his greatest difficulty and uncertainty. Not only is there a basic necessity for an understanding of methodology involved in interpretation of the parables but one also discovers hindrances to the work itself by the nature of the material as well as the history of its preservation. Having arrived at the point from which real progress could be expected, the ultimate of frustration is experienced in that the procedure necessary to interpretation has been violated within the Bible itself! It soon becomes obvious that one may expect to gain a true understanding of the parables in proportion to the degree that his presuppositions regarding the nature and character of Jesus' mission and message have been based upon genuine insight. The original context within which the sayings were spoken have either perished or been corrupted in the process of transmission. The search in any case must include questions such as these: What may be determined concerning the original form of the saying? What elements have been added by the church in the light of its own experience? To what degree did those who first heard the word understand the essential message of Jesus? The nature of parabolic sayings lends itself to formal compilation²² but one must expect unity only to the degree that the editor or compiler has been successful in creating it by his editorial connections. In chapter four, it is widely held that the author took material which had received its form prior to the time he received it and added an introduction (verses 1-2), a section on the purpose of the parables (verses 10-12), and an interpretation of the parables already given in verses 3-9. There is no degree of unanimity among interpreters regarding the meaning of the parable in 3-9. Is it the original purpose of Jesus to stress the responsibility of hearing,²³ the fact that the King-

22. R. Bultmann, *Geschichte der synoptischen Tradition*, p. 351.

23. A. E. J. Rawlinson, *St. Mark (The Westminster Commentaries)*; London: Methuen and Co., sixth edition, 1947), p. 50.

dom is sure to come in spite of all hindrances,²⁴ the end time has arrived and the crop is now ready for harvest²⁵ or in spite of everything the Kingdom will surely come at last?²⁶ This is a most eloquent witness to the primacy of one's pre-suppositions in the interpretation of the parables. In the light of what may be seen of the central concept of Jesus, discerned most clearly at such a crucial event as the acceptance of John's baptism as well as the summary characterization of his message by Mark in 1:14-15, it follows that one may well see in this parable also the expression of the conviction of the nearness of eschatological consummation. Thus interpreted, it doubtless belonged to the early period of the preaching ministry of Jesus described in 1:14-15.

If the original intent of the parable is difficult to ascertain out of the context in which it first found expression, it is even more difficult to discover if one takes the Markan viewpoint seriously. The problems which continue to exist for present day interpreters had already begun to appear for those who were agents of preservation of the tradition. There is practical unanimity of opinion that the work of the early Christian community is seen in verses 13-20. The stimulus for this interpretation is seen in its reflection upon its own experience, perhaps that of the preaching of the gospel. One is inclined to agree with the viewpoint that the deviation from the pattern of tradition of Jesus' words²⁷ is more substantial proof of this fact than the allegorical flavor of the material.²⁸ Here, within the Gospel itself, is evidence of the results of the reflective work of the community coupled with the riddle created by free floating stories of Jesus' words which are isolated from the pedagogical support of the original context.²⁹

The philosophy of the author is enunciated in verses 11-12. Whether this viewpoint is original with him or inherited is a matter of indifference. At this juncture a pat-

24. Allen Menzies, *The Earliest Gospel* (London: Macmillan and Co., 1901), pp. 107-108.

25. C. H. Dodd, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London: Nisbet and Co., revised edition, 1936), p. 182.

26. Joachim Jeremias, *The Parables of the Kingdom*, trans. S. H. Hooke (New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons, 1955), p. 92.

27. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 203.

28. Branscomb, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

29. *Ibid.*

tern of thought is attributed to Jesus which is contradictory to that which is discovered in the basic tradition and which is even implied in the immediate context itself. Both logic and the inner consistency of the Gospel account point toward the conclusion that this theory belongs ultimately to Mark. If Jesus had wished the crowds not to understand, he could have desisted from teaching in their presence. This is not a true picture of Jesus' attitude toward those whom he describes.³⁰ Grant is correct when he says,

Taking the passage as it now stands in Mark, it must be interpreted as Mark's theory of the parables, a theory derived partly from the Christian experience in evangelism and partly from the ironic oracle in Isaiah 6:9-10, where the prophet looks back upon his own frustrated ministry and views it as the result of divine intention.³¹

This is another example where the real purpose and attitude of Jesus eluded his own disciples who sought to illuminate the problems and meaning of Christian experience by the use of an instrument which they themselves did not fully understand. That such logical problems should arise for the believer is inevitable at the point of the rejection and crucifixion. Whether the explanation is to be found within the framework of the Old Testament and interpreted as the ultimate will of God or in the atmosphere of Hellenistic religious thought as related to their concept of esoteric doctrine present already in the thinking of those to whom it was spoken, the result is the same in that a purpose and motive is attributed to Jesus which is obviously incompatible with the picture given elsewhere. If the inference is correct that Jesus is to be seen as standing within the context of those whose basic expectation was that of an imminent inbreak of the eschatological Kingdom, the remaining parables found within the section are to be interpreted in the light of this inference.

The author turns from the parabolic to the miraculous in depicting the activity of the Son of God and it is here that the type of literature is inherently suited to the message which he desires to enunciate. The stories belong to the

30. Branscomb, *op. cit.*, p. 78.

31. Grant, *The Gospel of Mark*, pp. 699-700.

theological purpose of the author and are devoid of the later problems which have arisen as a result of changing scientific, philosophic and religious perspectives. They entered the tradition of the Christian church prior to the time of their incorporation into the Gospel records. The initial requirement for their interpretation is sympathetic understanding of the context in which they first arose rather than a scientific analysis of the nature of the bare occurrence. In the context of biblical life and thought, the prophetic insight into the meaning is itself a part of the event.

Jesus is pictured as the powerful Son of God who in his majesty and might is ruler over wind and sea, demons and death.³² The unspoken motif which provides the background and connecting link for the narrative is that of the sea. Jesus is the Son of God and the events recounted bear this testimony eloquently. In the storm at sea (4:35-41) we hear it in the question, "Who then is this?", in the exorcistic story of the Gerasene demoniac (5:1-20) by the cry, "Jesus, Son of the most High God," and in the twofold miracle combined into a single unit (5:21-43) by the command, "I say unto you, arise." One is assured of the historicity of certain elements of the tradition by their persistence in the tradition even though the implications are derogatory. Such is the character of the rejection story (6:1-6). The peculiarity of the tradition here is that faith is made the basis for the miraculous works of Jesus; elsewhere in the Gospels, this is not regularly the case. One is not told whether the existence of this cynical atmosphere actually prevented the performance of attempted miracles, hindered the attempt or caused those who were in need of healing to refrain from coming.

In spite of rejection and disbelief in the homeland, the mission is propagated. The sending out of the twelve (6:7-13) is described with such intensity of language and expectation that it may well reveal an expectation which many have interpreted to be that of imminent eschatological consummation on the part of Jesus³³ or at least on the part of the

32. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 89.

33. Albert Schweitzer, *The Quest of the Historical Jesus*, trans. W. Montgomery (London: Adam and Chas. Black, 1945), p. 357.

church which imparted its own feeling of tension to the account.³⁴

Jewish patterns of thought shine forth in the series of unconnected events which serve largely to provide progress in the narrative. Herod's opinion of Jesus (6:14-16) serves as a point of introduction for the tradition of the fate of the prophet of the wilderness (6:17-29). Thus, at the close of the Galilean ministry which was introduced by the powerful proclamation and act of John, the baptizer, stands the story of his demise.

IV. *The Ministry Beyond Galilee* — 6:30-8:26

He who is the Lord of all now relates himself more intimately to those whom he has commissioned and sent forth. Although the return of the disciples serves as the point of departure for the section (6:30-54), it is soon overshadowed by the Lord who heals and sustains those who come to him. In spite of the fact that it is in the lands beyond Galilee in which the story takes place, it is the account of the Lord who is 'bread' for the hungry and healing for the afflicted. This concept is dramatically expressed in the incident in which the five thousand are fed. The suggestions for interpretation of the event are numerous but it is difficult to escape the conclusion that one meets here a further reflection of the eschatological concept expressed by the sending forth of the twelve. The meal is anticipatory of the coming Kingdom and may reflect the earnest expectation of the Christians who could see something of a foreshadowing of this reality in the meal which they shared within their own spiritual fellowship. The sustainer of life is also the Lord of life and this is nowhere more eloquently attested than in the story of Jesus walking at night on the stormy sea. The majesty and mystery of this one is further attested by the hardness (lack of full perception) of the hearts of the disciples. Again, in the remoteness of the seashore, the crowds are pictured returning to him for manifold kinds of deliverances.

Perhaps the ministry in the lands beyond Galilee may have served as a kind of psychological basis for the discus-

34. Bultmann, *op. cit.*, p. 155f.

sion of the validity of Jewish scribal tradition. The problem is discussed in a series of originally unrelated stories which relate to various aspects of this tradition (7:1-23).³⁵ Growing out of the requirements for priests alone for food taken from the sacrificial altar, the necessity of washing of the hands had been expanded gradually until it included all the food for all the people. The answer appears to be that these regulations are really human ones and consequently unrelated to the divine intention. This strong anti-semitic implication doubtless drew its breath of continuing life from the adjustments that Jewish and Gentile Christians continuously were called upon to make in the ongoing life of the first century Christian community. The thread of continuity (scribal tradition) now is related to the problem of abstract law as opposed to the concrete law of Moses. The underlying question for discussion is again seen in the principle of scribal authority in the legislative direction of the life of the people. The commandments of men (verse 7) now contradict the universally recognized commandment of God to honor one's parents. Scribal interpretation freed a man from parental responsibility which transgressed the stipulations of a vow even though the vow was taken in rage or unthoughtedly. Jesus is quoted as repudiating the larger principle of the substantial fallibility of scribal authority. It is with some difficulty that one discovers genuine ground upon which to assess the meaning of the closing verses of this section (verses 14-23). The saying in verse 15 is the principle around which the remaining discourse is built as a kind of explanatory parable. Is it a saying of Jesus which is the basis of freedom for the Christians from the legalism of the Jewish system³⁶ or does it savor of a later expansion of the Hellenistic community in its effort to find freedom from bonds which were oppressive to it?³⁷ The formulation of the remaining verses of the section possesses the characteristics of a developed piece of wisdom teaching which undoubtedly contains, in essence, the manner in which the church thought the mind of Jesus would interpret the situation in which it found itself. It was abundantly justified in making this inference with reference to the Gentile world. One wonders,

35. Grant, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 747.

36. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 342.

37. Branscomb, *op. cit.*, p. 124.

however, if Jesus actually dealt so radically with the regulations which were related to the religious system in which he was nurtured.

The account (7:24-8:26) of the ministry beyond Galilee is completed by a series of miracle stories in the midst of which is embedded an interpretative section (8:11-21) regarding perceptive insight which grasps the significance of the signs. The geographical context of these sections is left unexplained. Its basis is doubtless to be found in the purpose of the author to describe an expanding ministry.

The introductory story (7:24-30) of the Syrophenician woman is a point of great difficulty. While it is possible to explain the attitude of Jesus as described in this section by two divergent assumptions with reference to the narrative, both solutions leave something to be desired. Is one to see here a pragmatic decision by Jesus in which he adjusts himself to the necessities of the circumstances and seeks to avoid consequences which would hinder the fundamental purpose of his efforts at this period of his life?³⁸ This view presupposes the purpose of the mission here to be the private instruction of the disciples and sees the incident as an effort to anticipate the consequences of an exorcistic ministry. Obviously such a purpose is a matter of inference and is weakened by the actual events of the story as they unfold. On the other hand, it has been suggested that what actually happens here illustrates a possibility which is involved in the transmission of the tradition concerning Jesus' words and deeds. Did Jewish prejudice infiltrate the account in its formative period and color the interpretation until it is no longer possible to discern the original incident in its true perspective?³⁹ The objections to the latter view are raised by the considerations relating to the character of biblical material but one suspects that this obstacle may ultimately involve less of a hurdle than that of ascribing to Jesus attitudes toward those outside a racial group which are unworthy even of the confessing Christian of the twentieth century. This shadowy implication is not obliterated by pointing to the actual events of the story since the attitude of Jesus remains but is overcome by the pressure of

38. Branscomb, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-132.

39. Grant, *The Gospel of Mark*, p. 754.

persistence or the cleverness of witticism on the part of the woman. In this case, one feels the Lord has ceased to be Lord, having been conquered by the endurance or intuition of a nameless woman! The purpose of the writer to relate the potentialities of Gentile inclusion in the Christian faith may doubtless explain the inclusion of the story here.

The healing of a deaf and dumb demoniac (7:31-37) serves as a transition to the account of a second miraculous meal which is provided by Jesus (8:1-9). Although the incident is used to demonstrate the compassion of Jesus for the hungry multitudes rather than serve as a basis for his teaching as was done in the previous instance,⁴⁰ a comparative study of both accounts reveals convincing similarities which indicate that both accounts originate from a single incident. In the framework of the narrative in which it now stands, it serves to provide a symmetrical conclusion to a period of the ministry which is introduced by its interpretative counterpart.

At this point in the narrative (8:13-26), a conflict emerges which indicates an element which transcends personal antagonism. In substance it anticipates the conflict described later in the account. The problem here centers around a diverging concept of the revelatory action of God and the relationship which it has to history. Jesus is confronted, in the midst of his exorcistic and miraculous activity, with a demand for a sign which possesses the capacity for sensory demonstration. Oblivious to the genuine signs of the times in the person of the Lord who is in their midst as one who acts as the healer of the blind, the lame and the deaf and dumb, who expels the demons who indwell men and whose feet have trodden upon the antagonistic powers which inhabit the depth of the sea, these representatives of apocalypticism frame their request in a form which is intelligible and reasonable to everyone except Jesus. Their demand reveals perversion of insight since it directs attention away from the Lord who is in their midst toward the fantastic schemes of an expectation which in itself was built upon the ashes of failure and defeat; propheticism had failed in the form of its expectation and apocalypticism had arisen to take its place. This rejection of the request for self-

40. Cf. 6:30ff.

authentication within the framework of apocalyptic eschatology is in itself a reinterpretation of the significance of the times. The signs are present for the perceptive spirit but the Son of God stands alone in his own generation and is unknown by those who are his called disciples and ambassadors.

V. *The Messiah and the Way of the Cross* — 8:27-10:52

One discovers a major transition in the Gospel of Mark at this point. This transition is indicated both by geographical notations and by strategically located sayings which relate to suffering.⁴¹ Jesus ceases to be the public figure who attracts the throngs by his miracles and becomes the retiring pedagogue who interprets the meaning of his actions. The author's purpose points forward to the cross and backwards to the early ministry. A problem emerges at this point which arises from the retrospective insights of the creators and preservers of the tradition. Stated simply it is this: Does the viewpoint of Mark represent the self-interpretation of Jesus, that of his later church or even that of the Gospel writer? Sharp divisions of opinion exist here. The answer depends upon one's presuppositions concerning the relationship of historicity and biblical authority. It is possible that Mark discovered a difference of viewpoint in tradition and in the confession of the church regarding the person of Jesus. While confessing Jesus as the Messiah, they found some evidence that this did not correspond with Jesus' self-interpretation. Logic dictated that a true confession would always have been true and that if Jesus could properly have been called the Messiah in the mid-sixties he had always been the Messiah. The 'Messianic Secret' then represents the church's effort to solve the problem which existed between historical tradition and liturgical confession. It is evident that no unanimously accepted answer has been given to his problem.

The section begins with two affirmations; namely, a confession to the person of Jesus (8:27-29) and a statement concerning the necessity of suffering for the Messiah (8:30-33). Jesus, in his person, transcends all that can be

41. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

said of the greatest of the prophets; he can only be the Messiah himself. It is suggested that the command of silence refers to the necessity of suffering rather than the person of Jesus,⁴² but there are difficulties in this view. The following narrative centers around the subject of suffering. Historically, suffering has been interpreted as a result of the failure of God's people to achieve the divine goal in history. Since the final solution of this problem is only eschatologically possible, the Divine Redeemer must suffer. This is another word for revelation.⁴³ Although the initial identification of suffering and Sonship was doubtless made by Jesus himself, the form of the final expression was given by the Christian community. Jesus evidently referred to himself as Son of Man⁴⁴ rather than to an Elect Community⁴⁵ or to a future eschatological figure other than himself.⁴⁶

The implications of the announcement noted above are obvious for the determination of the nature of discipleship (8:34-9:1). If the Messiah is to walk the path of suffering, so must the disciple also. The retrospective insight of the Church manifests itself again by symbolizing all that a call to discipleship meant under the motif of the cross.⁴⁷ Again, the coming Kingdom is described in terms of imminence rather than actual presence.

Annunciation is followed by confirmation; transfiguration follows the Petrine Confession (9:1-8). It becomes apparent that the form of historical event is no better adapted to the disclosure of the content of revelation than the form of history is capable of serving as a vehicle of the revelation itself. The announcement of the content of revelation transcends the bearers of meaning in a way which is analogous to that of the shattering of the historical pattern by the fulfilment of the revelation. Consequently, the reader finds himself again in the presence of the symbolic. Efforts at

42. *Ibid.*, p. 63.

43. *Ibid.*, pp. 165-166.

44. Kummel, *op. cit.*, p. 47.

45. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 384.

46. Schweitzer, *op. cit.*, p. 357.

47. Eduard Schweizer, *Erniedrigung und Ehrohung bei Jesus und seiner Nachfolger* (Abhandlungen zur Theologie des Alten und Neuen Testaments, No. 28. Ed. W. Eichrodt und O. Cullmann; Zurich: Zwingli Verlag, 1955), pp. 14-15.

the investigation of the recorded event which have sought to discover the nature of the event of the transfiguration, as event, have produced contradictory rather than confirmatory conclusions.⁴⁸ The point of departure is doubtless the meaning of the experience for Mark. A unique experience of the disciples with Jesus has been preserved in forms provided by Jewish apocalyptic imagery. The mountain top, the voice, the cloud and the half-perceptive disciples are familiar apparel for Old Testament epiphanies. As succinctly stated by an interpreter of the story, "The Transfiguration story indicates the historical life and work of Jesus as eschatological revelation of the Divine Lord who is at the same time the teacher of the disciples."⁴⁹ As indicated by the command of silence to the disciples (verse 9) this story was not known until after the resurrection. In Markan tradition, John the Baptist has now become Elijah, but Christian tradition was divided on this confession.⁵⁰

The chief value of the miracle story (9:14-29) which follows in the Gospel account seems to be the preservation of the record of the developing theology of the church regarding the meaning and reference of faith. A half-way station may be noted here between Jesus' call for faith in God and the church's exhortation for faith in Jesus. The unity of the calls is to be found in the fact that faith in Jesus is essentially a unity with him in faith in God.

The implications of the words and deeds of Jesus assumed a dominant place of importance for the early Christians. The attempt at preservation led the church to use the form as well as the homiletical pattern which occurs in the Gospels. The problem of the specific source of this material is stated too simply when the issue is interpreted as a choice between the creativity of Jesus and the early church. The Lordship of Jesus is the certain ground of the continuing life of the church but this Lordship is inadequately conceived when it is insisted that it must be based upon the literal preservation of his words and deeds. If revelation is an existential phenomenon, a place must be allowed for retrospective insight which interprets events

48. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 386-388. A list of summary results is given.

49. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 179.

50. Cf. John 1:21.

which assumed a determinative place in the life of the Christian community. Pure prediction cannot become the norm of reality for the work of the spirit since the prediction itself becomes meaningless when it is imposed upon areas of Christian experience which would necessarily have no contact with the context of historical event. Consequently, it becomes understandable that the cross and the resurrection become the motif under which the words and deeds of Jesus were made relevant for the experience of the church. The implications of the historic Jesus for the life of the church are schematically interpreted (9:30-10:52). The concepts of greatness, rewards, the character of personal relationships, stewardship and morality find their place in the discussion which takes place on a journey to Jerusalem. As already indicated, the initial stimulus for this material is the sayings of Jesus but the form in which it appears in the Gospels is determined in large measure by the developing need of the church.

VI. *The Days in Jerusalem* — 11:1-13:37

The Jerusalem ministry of Jesus is recounted with unusual brevity. This is perhaps to be explained by Mark's proclivity for Galilee as the land of eschatological event. The entrance (11:1-10) is described in language which is undoubtedly colored by Messianic conceptions on the part of the author but it is to be remembered that there is a tradition that the disciples did not understand it in this manner.⁵¹ This is additional evidence of the virtual impossibility of preserving a non-Messianic interpretation of Jesus in a believing fellowship which confessed him as Messiah. Although Mark described the entrance as Messianic, it is possible that the events themselves were somewhat less obviously related to the idea. It is correct to say that "the Messianic Secret governs the entire story."⁵²

Following the pictorial representation of the fruitlessness of Israel by a kind of parabolic miracle, Jesus is described in his return to the Temple ministry which is initiated by the cleansing of the Temple. This action, portrayed in terms of prophetic symbolism, is placed at the beginning of Jesus'

51. Cf. John 12:16.

52. Schniewind, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

ministry by John.⁵³ The influences which colored the interpretation of the entry have been active also in the formulation and preservation of the Temple ministry. The unobserved Messiah comes to the place of religious authority and the essential dignity of his person permeates the entire occasion. For the moment, the Markan Son of God whose mission it was to overcome the demonic powers of the underworld becomes the fulfilment of the Jewish hopes for a deliverer of David's lineage.

Conflict is the inescapable result of the mission of Jesus whether he be seen as the Son of God (2:1-3:6) or as the restorer of the house of worship (11:27-12:44). These two sections of conflict stories may have been located in Mark according to his didactic purpose; it is probable that there is an inner unity which connects the two groups. The account echoes the agenda of Jewish theological issues. It may well be that there are shades of Christian interpretation of these issues which are to be discerned in this section. The legitimacy of the Christian proclamation of God's salvation in the name of Jesus is defended in the pattern of rabbinical polemic (11:27-33); the ongoing purpose of God is identified with the Christian community by means of the allegorization of imagery derived from the Old Testament (12:1-12).

The religious interpretation of the burning issue of tribute to a foreign power was of major interest in Jesus' day and was doubtless so deeply embedded in the tradition as to reappear in the Christian definition of the problem of church and state (12:13-17). Since the right of taxation is based upon the recognition of the right to govern and coin money, the answer indicates the impossibility of settling the particular problem which was raised within a context which is purely religious. The larger problem of church and state is avoided through the limited formulation of the question.

The problem of the resurrection was deeply rooted in Jewish polemical thought. Its origin lay in the diverging concepts of the Sadducees and Pharisees concerning the validity of oral tradition. Christians maintained an interest in the discussion because of the proclamation of the resurrection of Jesus as the focal point of the Gospel. In this section of Mark, the possibility of maintaining the doctrine

53. Cf. John 2:13ff.

in general terms is grounded in a proper understanding of the doctrine itself plus an adequate concept of God's own nature (12:18-27).

The problem of legalism is framed in terms of a scribal question (12:28-34). The solution to this problem is given in the terminology of the daily Jewish confession. The meaning of the Confession is lifted above the code of legalism and interpreted in terms of a proper response to the elective love of God.

In conclusion, an issue which continued to occupy the thought of the Christians is raised; namely, what is the road to a unification of the Christological confessions which exist within the tradition? It seems to be true that there are indications in Mark that Jesus did not use the title of Messiah as the basic category by which he interpreted the significance of his person. It is also evident that the reflective insight of the Spirit-led church soon saw in Jesus the fulfillment of this Jewish expectation. The answer which is preserved here (12:35-37) either refers to the self-interpretation of Jesus who saw more than the traditional Jewish concept could contain⁵⁴ or to the answer of the Christian community which sought to relate the confessions of Son of God and Messiah.⁵⁵ The latter answer seems to be the correct one.

Chapter thirteen is ordinarily interpreted as a combination of authentic eschatological expressions of Jesus with Jewish apocalyptic expectation. The synthesis of thought could only come in the experience of the church after it had interpreted Jesus in terms of Messiah and Son of Man. The next step was taken when the future was interpreted in the light of the implications of these confessions which they believed had not yet been fulfilled. This is particularly true of the political aspects of the Messianic hope and of the judicial phase of the Son of Man expectation. The former idea is related specifically to the Millennial Hope while the latter served as an integral element of the doctrine of the Second Coming. This expectation served to preserve the hope of the ultimate victory of God which is basic to the Christian faith. It has, at times, become the point at which

54. Taylor, *op. cit.*, p. 491.

55. Branscomb, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

perversions have arisen when its proclaimers have fallen into the error of identifying the validity of the religious conviction which it expresses with the literal fulfilment of the form in which the conviction is expressed.

VII. *The Death and Resurrection of Jesus* — 14:1-16:8

The culminating events of the life of Jesus may be conveniently summarized around the major ideas of arrest, crucifixion and resurrection. Here one finds genuine evidences of the earliest formulated sources. The events themselves are interpreted as originating in the will of God. Even the kindness of friends (14:3-9), the vicious plot of the enemy (14:10-11) and the final personal consecration in the Garden find their way into this pattern of thought. The logical problems involved belong to the present day reader rather than to the author of the Gospel.

Christian history testifies to the importance of the place of the Last Supper in the thought and experience of the church. There is no unified answer which can be given to many of the problems connected with its origin and meaning. Mark describes the meal in terms of a Passover (14:12). This contradicts John 13:1ff. who pictures it as taking place prior to the time of the Passover. Mark appears to be incorrect in his dating both on the basis of statements within the Gospel (14:1, 2, 12) and in relation to events which are described as taking place in connection with the crucifixion. The essential point of departure in interpretation appears to be that of the significance of the symbolism through which the historically grounded fellowship is interpreted as the basis of a hope which is to be eschatologically fulfilled. The later element of retrospective contemplation apparently is traceable to Paul.⁵⁶

The trials of Jesus in both a Jewish and Roman setting are difficult to reconstruct and explain. In spite of the unanswered questions regarding normal judicial procedure among Jews and Romans, the purpose of the story is clear. The Jewish leaders must bear the responsibility for the condemnation and execution of Jesus! The actuality of Jewish hostility is beyond dispute but an evaluation becomes diffi-

56. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

cult in many respects since the latter has an obvious apologetic import for its Roman readers. A point of significance for the interpretation of Mark is raised in 14:62 where Jesus most closely approximates the Messianic claim for himself. It is noteworthy that the implications of the answer are given in terms of the Son of Man. The conclusion of the events which are willed by God is the verdict of a reluctant King who is forced to a decision which purports to please the Jewish antagonists who have risen to great stature in manipulating the procedure.

The crucifixion tragedy serves as a setting in which the majesty of the person of Jesus is reflected. The unusual portents of nature, the silence of faithful women and the insight of a pagan soldier serve to delineate the unique occurrence.

One is surprised at the reserve and reticence with which the resurrection is announced. Only a solitary angel indicates the absence of the risen Lord from the tomb, and the charge given to the women is disobediently never carried out. The Land of Promise becomes Galilee instead of Judea. It is certain that the original Gospel ended at 16:8. It has been suggested that this ending represents the original purpose of Mark and that the indefinite reference to Galilee is a form of the *parousia expectation*.⁵⁷

The account of Jesus, the Son of God, ends with a note of indefiniteness and incompleteness. Is this another way of indicating the majesty of the person of him who is Son of God in history as well as Son of Man with reference to things to come?

57. Lohmeyer, *op. cit.*, pp. 357-358.

The Theology of the Gospel of Mark

BY HEBER F. PEACOCK

The earlier controversy over the Jesus of History and the Christ of faith has long ago been resolved in the minds of most New Testament scholars. The remnants of the controversy still linger, however, in the mind of the average reader of the New Testament. There remains a tendency to overemphasize in the Gospels the Jesus of History and to ignore, at least to a large extent, the Christ of Faith. Let it be said at the outset that the Jesus of History is not discernible in the New Testament apart from the Christ of Faith. The two are inseparable. It is the purpose of every book of the New Testament to proclaim the Christ of Faith and to maintain that this is none other than the Jesus of History who walked and taught on the shores of Galilee and was crucified under Pontius Pilate.

The Gospel of Mark is not primarily or principally a biography of the earthly Jesus. It is rather a book which, using the traditions about the earthly Jesus, proclaims to believers (and thus to the world) the nature and character of Christ and calls for full surrender in faith to this crucified-exalted Lord. The author is not concerned with history for its own sake but with history as an instrument for proclaiming true faith and practice. He does not raise or answer questions with which we are likely to be concerned. He does not intend to portray for his readers the psychological development of Jesus nor to trace all the historical developments which led to his death. He is concerned at every point to set forth the nature of his being and the nature of faith in him.¹

In our effort to understand the theology of Mark we must guard against the danger of assuming that Markan theology is a distinctly personal view of the nature and character of Jesus. To be sure, he has his own distinguishable insights and message but it does not differ essentially from the message of the early Christian movement of which he is a part. Fact and interpretation of fact had already

1. R. H. Lightfoot, *The Gospel Message of St. Mark* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1950), p. 34.

been combined in the early Church and Mark reflects this early Christian belief.²

There is also a danger on the other side which must be avoided in any discussion of the message of Mark. It must not be assumed that the theology of Mark is identical with that of other writers of the New Testament. The unity of the New Testament must not be replaced by a sterile uniformity. Each writer has his own emphasis and it is this diversity of emphasis combined with the underlying early Christian message which constitutes the unity of the New Testament. It is this distinctive emphasis and the special interests of Mark with which we are here concerned.³ These distinctive elements of the message of Mark can perhaps be summarized under five heads: the person of Jesus, his Messiahship, his rejection, his victory, and the nature of faith in him.

I. *The Person of Jesus*

The Jesus portrayed in the Gospel of Mark has been interpreted in a variety of ways. He has been understood as merely a good teacher, a rabbi; as an idle dreamer or visionary; as an apocalyptist. Although some support may be found in the Gospel for these views, each falls far short of the portrayal of the person of Jesus as actually presented in the Gospel of Mark. For Mark, Jesus is the Messiah, the Son of God, and it is his person himself, not his deeds or his message, which is of supreme importance. What Jesus says or does has significance for Mark only in terms of who he is. This fact is indicated most clearly by the kind of relationship which exists between Jesus and other men in the Gospel.

In this Gospel only slight emphasis is given to the significance of what Jesus says. Even verses (contrast 1:27 with its emphasis on his authority) with their emphasis on the astonishing nature of his teaching (e.g. 1:22) are subordinate to verses which emphasize the astonishing nature of his person. The biggest question of the Gospel

2. Cf. B. H. Branscomb, *The Gospel of Mark* (Moffatt New Testament Commentary; New York: Harper, n.d.), pp. xx f.

3. See Vincent Taylor, *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1952), pp. 114 ff. for an analysis of the theology of Mark.

is not, "What is this?" (1:22) but rather, "Who is this?" (4:41). His words and his deeds raise for his hearers and for the readers of the Gospel of Mark the all-important question about the person of the one who acts and speaks.

It is of importance also that nowhere in the Gospel does Jesus demand from his followers a confession of, or an allegiance to, particular formulations of his teaching. What is required at every point of one who would be a disciple of Jesus is complete allegiance to him and whatever falls short of this is something less than discipleship. In the call of the first disciples (1:16 ff.) it is evidently the person of Jesus and the power of his presence rather than his deeds or message which leads to the response of abandoning everything in order to follow him. Mark does not indicate any previous contact with these first disciples and is quite clearly saying to his readers that it is the person of Jesus and his call which demand this absolute response. This same element can be found in the call of Levi (2:14), in the call of the rich young man (10:21), and elsewhere in the Gospel. One should not overlook the fact that in the appointment of the twelve the primary purpose is expressed in the statement that "they should be with him" (3:14). This element of allegiance to the person of Jesus ought to be recognized as the heart and center of the message of the Gospel of Mark.

This emphasis on the person of Jesus can also be seen at other points in the Gospel narrative. Lightfoot⁴ is right in his insistence that even the parables of Jesus are intended to be more than typical examples of Jesus' teaching method. It is his interpretation of himself and the presentation of his person which come to the fore. His miracles are more than indications of his power; they are incidents in his ministry which reflect and clarify the nature of his person. The transfiguration cannot be dismissed as a misplaced post-resurrection narrative or as merely an imaginative symbolism of the later church; it is included in the story of Mark in order to portray unmistakably that Jesus is indeed Messiah and Son of God.⁵ Even the Passion Narrative has as its underlying motif the presentation of Jesus as Redeemer and Son of God. This is evident, for example, in the rending of

4. R. H. Lightfoot, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

5. Vincent Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 386 ff.

the veil of the temple from top to bottom at the time of the death of Jesus and in the statement of the centurion, "Truly this man was son of God" (15:38 f.). The starting point for an understanding of the message of Mark is the recognition that he presents Jesus Christ the Son of God as the central fact for faith and history.

II. *The Messiahship of Jesus*

The problem of the Messianic Secret of the Gospel of Mark has exercised New Testament scholarship since its presentation in 1901 by W. Wrede in *Das Messiasgeheimnis in den Evangelien*. Although Wrede's form of the Messianic Secret as a hypothesis imposed on the records by the Gospel writer has largely been rejected, it cannot be denied that "the Messianic Secret lies behind almost every narrative in Mark."⁶ Jesus is the Messiah, yet repeatedly this fact is hidden and warnings are given that it should not be revealed. Although a partial explanation of this fact may be found in the necessity for Jesus to avoid the danger of political revolution or in Jesus' understanding of Messiahship as a matter of action rather than status,⁷ there is a deeper and more important explanation which must be considered. Jesus is the Messiah, the fulfillment of every expectation and hope of the Old Testament and Judaism. He is the bearer of the Spirit of God and in him the Kingdom of God is introduced. He is Lord and King, Judge and Redeemer. But he is all of this only through death and resurrection. His whole life and death are the "Messianic Secret," for in this man who can be disbelieved and rejected the Kingdom of God has arrived upon the earth. It is this very hiddenness of the nature and character of Jesus as Messiah which Mark is seeking to set forth in his whole narrative.⁸ It is the crucified Messiah, the extreme paradox of the Christian faith, which Mark is presenting to his readers.

It is in this light that the gradual recognition of the Messiahship of Jesus as presented in Mark becomes meaningful. The demonic powers are the first to recognize who

6. Vincent Taylor, *op. cit.* p. 123.

7. *Ibid.*

8. Cf. Julius Schniewind, *Das Evangelium nach Markus* (Goettingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1952), pp. 209 f.

he is. Slowly and with difficulty his inner group of disciples is brought to the confession at Caesarea Philippi. If Lightfoot⁹ is right, this confession is to be understood as a portrayal of the conflict which exists between those "who perceive and confess the divine nature and office of the Lord" and those who know him only externally. The culmination of this development comes with the cross and resurrection when recognition of his Messiahship is available to all who are willing to see and believe. Here is one of those truths in the Gospel of Mark seen "at an earlier stage and in a less coherent form" than that in which it appears in the Fourth Gospel.¹⁰ The hidden Messiah, *deus absconditus*, is revealed to all who under the Spirit of God are willing to see with the eyes of faith.

III. *The Rejection of Jesus*

The theme of rejection is written large across the pages of the Gospel of Mark and at times the author seems to be wrestling with the question of its cause and significance. From the very beginning of the Gospel (cf. 1:12-14) the shadow of the end falls across the figure of Jesus. The Lord's Messiah is rejected of men.

From the rejection of the forerunner and the conflict stories of 2:1 ff.¹¹ through the rejection in his home country (6:1 ff.) and his conflict with the Pharisees to the outbreak of open hostility which led to his crucifixion there runs a thread of unceasing hostility to the work and person of Jesus on the part of the religious and political leaders. The picture is heightened by the introduction of exorcism and the demonic conflict in which he is constantly engaged. James M. Robinson¹² has clearly demonstrated that this theme of conflict and rejection is to be understood against the background of Mark's eschatological view of history. Mark as-

9. R. H. Lightfoot, *op. cit.* p. 33.

10. *Ibid.* p. 51.

11. Wilfred L. Knox, *The Sources of the Synoptic Gospels* Volume I: St. Mark (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), p. 12, held that the original collection of conflict stories at one time stood by itself as an introduction to the Passion Narrative.

12. James M. Robinson, *The Problem of History in Mark* (Naperville, Ill.: A. R. Allenson Co., 1957, *Studies in Biblical Theol.*, No. 21), *passim*.

sumes that with the baptism of Jesus a cosmic battle between the Spirit and Satan began in history and that the culmination of the conflict would be the destruction of the "present evil age" and the establishment of the Kingdom of God. For Mark, Jesus Christ is the center and end of history and in his rejection, then or now, he sees a manifestation of demonic powers in open conflict with God. One is reminded once again of the Fourth Gospel and its developed theme of conflict.

IV. *The Victory of Jesus*

That the cross is victory is one of those illogical paradoxes which can be resolved only by faith. As surely as Mark presents rejection in terms of the cosmic conflict, even so certainly does he present the cross as the crucial victory over the cosmic powers. To be sure, cross and resurrection cannot be separated in Mark any more than they can in Paul. The two are opposite sides of the same coin and without one the other is destroyed.

This concept of victory in defeat is everywhere present in the Gospel of Mark. Although it is formulated in different terms, victory in Mark parallels the victory of Philippians 2. Mark proclaims also that "every knee shall bow and every tongue confess." This victory is foreshadowed in the exorcisms of Jesus, for it is first of all a victory over the demonic powers. It is seen also in the eschatological predictions which characterize the Gospel. Jesus is the future Son of Man coming on the clouds of glory and as such is already victor over Satanic forces.

The victory of the cross manifests itself also in terms of his Lordship over men. Allegiance to the person of Jesus and identification with the Son of Man at his *parousia* are dependent upon the recognition of his victory in spite of the paradoxical character of his humiliation and his cross (cf. 8:38). This aspect of the message of Mark is in perfect accord with the earliest Christian confession, "Jesus Christ is Lord."¹³

13. For a careful study of this victory motif see James M. Robinson, *op. cit.* and Eduard Schweizer, *Humiliation and Exaltation* (Naperville, Ill.: A. R. Allenson Co., 1957).

V. *Faith in Jesus Christ*

There can be little doubt that the primary message of Mark centers in a call to faith in this Jesus who is Christ the Lord. The appeal for faith does not come as directly as in some other parts of the New Testament but it is just as clear. Is it possible for the reader to follow the narrative of the healing miracles recorded in Mark without being challenged by the demand for faith in the person of this crucified Messiah who now reigns as Lord? Do not the conflict stories and the demands placed upon the first disciples evoke from the reader the response of total abandonment of all else in allegiance to him? And what about Mark's passion narrative itself? Can one read it without being brought face to face with the Christ who in death has been victor over sin and all its power?¹⁴

Above all else, Mark makes clear that faith is not sight. It is faith in the hidden Christ, the Christ of the "Messianic Secret," that is called for. Further, Mark insists that faith, originating in response to the initiating call of Christ, means absolute abandonment of every previous tie and commitment. Mark as truly as Paul knows that only when every other hope has been reduced to refuse can the living Christ be found in faith. This is Mark's message.

14. For the nature of this appeal and its relationship to the *kerygma* see C. H. Dodd, *Apostolic Preaching* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936).

Paul's Understanding of Apostleship

BY MORRIS ASHCRAFT

Of the several terms in the N. T. which designate the "ministry," none is more significant than the term *apostolos*. Anyone who would understand the Christian ministry must not only define this term, but must also show what concepts were embedded in its usage and what it meant to those who claimed to be apostles. The traditionally accepted view of apostleship seems to be closely related to Justin Martyr's statement:

... for twelve illiterate men, unskilled in the art of speaking, went out from Jerusalem into the world, and by the power of God they announced to the men of every nation that they were sent by Christ to teach everyone the word of God.¹

The idea that the Twelve were "The Apostles," the primary witnesses of the gospel facts, the foundation of the church, the writers of the N. T., and world missionaries, prevailed for centuries. However, this statement of the case is a summary made at a later time and does not allow for all of the other evidence. There were other apostles such as Paul, Barnabas, Epaphroditus, James, Andronicus and Junias. There were even some unnamed church messengers called apostles (2 Cor. 8:23). There is no doubt but that in the earliest strata of the N. T. there was a general usage of the word apostle to denote a missionary who was not one of the Twelve. There is further evidence that in the earliest history of the N. T. other names such as "Disciples," the "Twelve," and the "Twelve Disciples" were preferred to the term "Apostles". If Jesus did not customarily speak Greek, then we have the additional problem of deciding what Aramaic term stands back of the translation *apostoloi*, if Jesus so designated this group of followers.

I. Definition and Pre-Christian Usage

The term *apostolos* is the masculine Greek noun from the common verb *apostellein*, to send. It designated a messenger or one sent on a mission. Later it developed the

1. Justin Martyr, *Apology*, i, 39, "The Writings of Saint Justin Martyr," (ed.) Ludwig Schopp (New York: Christian Heritage, Inc., 1948), p. 75.

meaning of "delegate," "envoy," and "ambassador." In pre-Christian times it was not a common word. It did designate a fleet, an expedition, or an admiral of a fleet.² The word *apostolos* appeared only once in the Septuagint and in that instance it was in a variant reading of I Kings 14:6. It was used to translate *shaluach*. This could be real help toward understanding apostleship, but it is a late reading as indicated by its omission from the best manuscripts of the LXX. Therefore, in the pre-Christian era, the word designated one who was sent on a mission and was most frequently used to denote those engaged in sea travel.³

Although too much has already been said on the subject, and it will take us into a desert region, some review of the "Shaliach Theory" will be necessary. The soil of the Hebrew-Aramaic background has been so fertile in producing precedents for N.T. ideas and institutions that it was to be expected that the predecessor of the N. T. apostle would be found there also. As early as 1865 J. B. Lightfoot pointed out that there may be a relationship between the O. T. *shaluach* (from *shalach*, to send) and the N. T. *apostolos*.⁴ A number of scholars have added to this idea.

The theory is based on the idea that the *sheluchim* were official messengers travelling about the Dispersion and as such were predecessors of the apostles. Four strands of evidence are used in support of this theory: the Jewish apostolate, the rabbinic *sheluchim*, the general use of *apostolos* in the N.T., and a so-called technical use of *shalach* and cognates in the O.T.

Adolph Harnack has adequately listed the evidence for the existence of a Jewish apostolate which was made up of Jewish emissaries who travelled extensively on official business.⁵ He conceded that all of these sources are post-Chris-

2. Henry George Liddell and Robert Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* (9th ed.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1953), p. 220.

3. Karl Heinrich Rengstorff, "Apostolos," *Theologisches Wörterbuch Zum Neuen Testament*, (ed.) Gerhard Kittel (Stuttgart: Verlag von W. Kohlhammer, 1933), I, 406-446, trans. J. R. Coates (1st ed., London: A. and C. Black Limited, 1952), pp.—1-44; All other references to Rengstorff's article will be to the translation of J. R. Coates.

4. J. B. Lightfoot, *The Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians* (Grand Rapids: The Zondervan Publishing House, [n.d.]), p. 93.

5. Adolph Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity in the First Three Centuries*, trans. James Moffatt (2nd ed., New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1908), I, 328.

tian. However he argued that since the Jews would hardly have copied a Christian institution the institution must be pre-Christian. Rengstorf lists the evidence of the second strand from passages in the rabbinic writings in which these *sheluchim* appear, and thinks this is the nearest parallel to the N.T. apostles.⁶ However, no direct connection is evident, and these travelling agents with the "power of attorney" are far removed from the N.T. missionaries called apostles. A third strand was summarized by Hermann Vogelstein.⁷ This study is based on N.T. passages in which agents seem to be *sheluchim*, and sometimes they are called apostles. The sending out of the Twelve is such an example, because they were sent and reported back to the sender.⁸ The fourth strand is drawn from the Persian Period in which there were official travelling plenipotentiary agents. This part of the theory has the dubious distinction of resting on only two O.T. passages, one of which is clearly not a technical use.⁹

As yet no real evidence has been shown that *apostolos* was used to translate *shaliach*, nor has any evidence appeared to show that Jesus or his followers knew of such an institution.

F. Gavin reviewed all of the evidence but was reluctant to claim any real relationship between this institution and the N.T. apostolate.¹⁰ Scholars are beginning to learn that this particular search in Hebrew-Aramaic background is a barren one. R. R. Williams recently voiced this judgment:

It is possible, though not certain, that Aramaic circles used *shaliach* for a plenipotentiary, but there is no such evidence at all that *apostolos* was commonly so used.¹¹

6. Rengstorf, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

7. Herman Vogelstein, "Die Entstehung und Entwicklung des Apostolats im Judentum," *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, XLIX (1905), 427-449, and "The Development of the Apostolate in Judaism and Its Transformation in Christianity," *Hebrew Union College Annual*, II (1925), 99-123.

8. Vogelstein, "The Development . . .," p. 109.

9. Ezra 7:14; Daniel 5:24.

10. Frank Gavin, "Shaliach and Apostolos," *The Anglican Theological Review*, IX (January, 1927), 250-259.

11. R. R. Williams, *Authority in the Apostolic Age* (London: SCM Press, 1950), p. 46.

Johannes Munck concluded that far "too much importance has for some time been attached to these Jewish apostles."¹² Karl Holl understated his case in saying, "The *shaliach* idea contributes almost nothing to the elucidation of the Christian apostolate."¹³ G. W. H. Lampe, therefore, is justified in saying that "the word 'almost' should be dropped."¹⁴

Having gleaned nothing from the Hebrew-Aramaic background, and having learned that the Greek word *apostolos* was an obscure, rarely used word before it developed its technical meaning in the N.T., after which it ceased to be used except rarely in the papyri, we must go to the N.T. records to understand apostleship.

II. New Testament Usage

The word *apostolos* appears 79 times in the N.T. Luke used the word 34 times in his two volumes, and Paul used the term 25 times¹⁵ The word is rare in the Gospels, but is most frequent in Acts and the Pauline Epistles. From this one could conclude that our two most important primary witnesses to apostleship are Luke and Paul, and it is common knowledge that the epistles of Paul are the earliest writings of the N.T.

Luke presented a single concept of apostleship, with Acts showing development from the idea in the Gospel. Even though he referred to the "Twelve" by that name 7 times, and called them "Disciples" 36 times, he called these men "Apostles" in the Gospel 6 times, and in such a way as to leave no doubt but that he speaks of the Twelve. He maintained this idea in Acts except for the older use of the word, as missionary or messenger, in designating Paul and Barnabas (Acts 14:4, 14). In the Acts the number Twelve is

12. Johannes Munck, "Paul, the Apostles, and the Twelve," *Studia Theologica*, III (Fasc. I, 1949), 100.

13. Karl Holl, "Der Kirchenbegriff des Paulus in seinem Verhältnis zu dem der Urgemeinde," *Gesammelte Aufsätze zu Kirchengeschichte* (Tübingen: Verlag von J. C. B. Mohr, 1928), II, 44-67; Cf. G. W. H. Lampe, *Some Aspects of the New Testament Ministry* (London: SPCK, 1949), p. 16.

14. Lampe, "The Early Church And The Ministry," *The Modern Churchman*, XLI (September, 1951), p. 38.

15. W. F. Moulton, and A. S. Geden, *A Concordance to the Greek Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1913). All of the following counts were made from this source.

so significant that the loss of Judas necessitated the election of Matthias. Luke knew, or "wished to know, of no apostles save the twelve."¹⁶ These twelve apostles were the witnesses of the resurrection who had known Jesus throughout his ministry (Acts 1:21f.). They were the chief leaders of the infant Christian community and, as a sort of council, presided over the church even outside Jerusalem. They were not portrayed as the actual missionaries, but rather as inspectors of the mission field.¹⁷ The apostles, as guarantors of the faith and as supervisors of the church, sat in council in Acts 15 in a somewhat official capacity which some designate as Christian sanhedrin.¹⁸ To Luke the apostles were not the leading speakers of the new faith; the "Seven" seemed to have been more effective in proclaiming the gospel. He showed no real missionary journeys of the Twelve, though Peter and John travelled some. Peter was definitely in Antioch, and perhaps in Corinth and Rome. At any rate, they did not appear as itinerant missionaries.

An analysis of Paul's references to apostles reveals that he used the term 25 times, 9 of which applied to himself only, 13 to an undefined group of which he was a member, and only 3 times to a group in which he was not included (I Cor. 15:7; Gal. 1:17, 19). Paul designated himself an apostle in the greetings of his letters to the Romans, Corinthians (I and II), Galatians and Colossians. On four other occasions (Rom. 11:13; I Cor. 9:1, 2; and 16:9) Paul specifically claimed that he was an apostle.

Paul found it difficult to speak of apostles without including himself either by implication, association or additional statement. With reference to Andronicus and Junias (Rom. 16:7) Paul is an apostle. When speaking of false apostles (2 Cor 11:13) Paul surely saw himself as a true one. In listing the resurrection appearances "to all the apostles," (I Cor. 15:7) he did not include himself, but immediately following he listed an appearance to himself, the "least" of the apostles. In the Galatians passage (1:18-19) when referring to the apostles in Jerusalem, he went on to claim that he was

16. Harnack, *op. cit.*, I, 324.

17. Hans Lietzmann, *The Beginnings of the Christian Church*, trans. Bertram Lee Woolf (London: Lutterworth Press, 1953), p. 72.

18. Munck, *op. cit.*, p. 108.

an apostle on a level with Peter, and stated that his appointment was direct from God. Paul also knew of and used the term to designate missionaries and "apostles of churches" (2 Cor. 8:23; Phil. 2:25). It is possible that these general apostles may have been numerous and that only later did the term become narrowed to the Twelve. This in no way reduces the importance of the Twelve who were the primary witnesses of the gospel facts, but it does inspire interest as to why the word became limited to them. If such a limitation existed in Paul's time, it is inconceivable that he could have used the title for himself, or for Barnabas, Andronicus, Junias, James or Epaphroditus. Such a limitation of the title of the Twelve would have made letters of recommendation (2 Cor. 3:1) unnecessary and "false" apostles non-existent.

Since 22 of Paul's 25 uses of the word appear in the four great epistles of the controversy with the Judaizers, it may "be taken as a sort of proof that this conflict played an important part in the development of the idea."¹⁹ The Judaizers attacked Paul not because he used the term *apostolos* to designate himself, but because he claimed to be "an apostle of Jesus Christ," and he had not followed Christ before the crucifixion. But Paul maintained that he was an apostle by divine call, and denied any human intervention in this. The Risen Lord had made him an apostle. He claimed in Galatians that the Twelve in Jerusalem had recognized that this was the case, but (in spite of Goguel²⁰) Paul insisted that his apostolic office did not depend on them. Paul never thought himself to be inferior to the apostles but rather thought his apostleship was attested by adequate proof (Acts 15:12; 2 Cor. 12: 12; 1 Cor. 9:1ff.).

The Gospel writers preferred to call these followers of Jesus by titles other than *apostoloi*, and with the exception of Luke, almost do not use the word. Mark used the term only once (6:40)²¹ and that in a non-technical sense of "those sent out." To Mark they were "disciples" 43 times and the "Twelve" 11 times. Indeed the Twelve is the best-attested

19. Holger Mosbech, "Apostolos in the New Testament," *Studia Theologica*, II (Fasc. II, 1948), 187.

19. Maurice Goguel, *The Birth of Christianity*, trans. H. C. Snape (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954), p. 217.

21. The Nestle Text omits the word in 3:14, but the interpreters vary here.

technical designation for these men during Jesus' lifetime. W. L. Knox thinks that *apostoloi* was used of the Twelve only at the time the Gospels were written and not during the ministry of Jesus.²² Matthew referred to this group as "disciples" 69 times, as the "Twelve" 9 times, and as the "Twelve Disciples" 2 times. Matthew refers to them as "Twelve Apostles" (10:2), but some manuscripts read "disciples" here. John used the word once (13:16) and then in a non-technical sense. He used other names for the "Twelve," but he never called them apostles.

Both the Lukan and Pauline concepts are represented in the other 8 appearances of the word in the N. T. In Ephesians and the Pastorals the usage is Pauline. In Hebrews 3:1 Jesus is called an "Apostle," and this would have been impossible if the Lukan idea had been established at this time. This is the non-technical usage of the word meaning "one sent." There is a mixture of the Pauline and Lukan concepts in Peter, Jude and Revelation with some indications that the Lukan idea of the "Twelve Apostles," is gaining, but the general usage persisted in Revelation 2.

Therefore, we may conclude that in the N.T. there is a general use of the word to designate missionaries, a claim of Paul that he was an apostle, and a concept of the apostleship as being limited to the Twelve Disciples of Jesus. Luke seems to be the chief advocate of this special use of the term.

III. Paul's Concept of Apostleship

Paul preferred to be known as an apostle. Qualifying phrases and adjectives varied but the central word *apostolos* always indicated his designation of himself as a minister of Christ. If it is true that his use of the word is most in evidence during the great controversy of which he was the center, then we may learn his concept of the Christian ministry from his use of the word.

Paul claimed that God had separated him from his "mother's womb" that he might preach the gospel to the Gentiles (Gal. 1:15, 16). Not only the idea but the words are from Jeremiah (1:5). Paul stated his mission in terms

22. W. L. Knox, *Sources of the Synoptic Gospels*, (ed.) H. Chadwick (Cambridge: University Press, 1953), I, 23, n.2.

which strongly reminds us of the O.T. prophet's idea of his role. Paul's regard for the gospel is identical to the O.T. prophet's regard for the "Word of God," and his proclamation of it was according to the highest standard of the prophets. Paul's consciousness of his task is so similar to Hebrew prophetic consciousness that scholars illustrate the latter by the former.²³ Some scholars have seen the Hebrew prophetic consciousness as a clue to apostolic consciousness,²⁴ but this really applies only to Paul's apostleship.

H. Wheeler Robinson gave a concise statement of the prophetic consciousness in the following terms:

The cardinal fact of the prophetic consciousness, as it is displayed in Amos and his great successors, is the absolute conviction of a divine call, mission, and message.²⁵

An analysis of the terminology used by Paul to define his own apostleship can conveniently be stated in the three phrases which express these same three emphases of the prophet: Paul was a "called apostle" (Rom. 1:1; 1 Cor. 1:1); he was the "apostle of Gentiles" (Rom. 11:13); he was "separated for the gospel of God" (Rom. 1:1).

A Called Apostle

Paul spoke of apostles who were before him (Gal. 1:17), of "superlative" apostles (2 Cor. 12:11), but he spoke of no other as a "called apostle." No other N.T. writer used the phrase. The two words *klesis* and *kletos* are used in the N.T. almost exclusively by Paul. These words express the idea of call native to the O.T. This word coupled with *apostolos* denies any human instrumentality. Therefore there is a distinct parallel between the call of Paul on the Damascus road and the calls of Moses near the burning bush, Isaiah in the temple, Jeremiah in Anathoth, and Amos on the hills of Tekoa.

23. H. H. Rowley, *The Re-Discovery of the Old Testament* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1946), p. 150.

24. Erich Haupt, *Zum Verstaendnis des Apostolats im Neuen Testament* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1896), pp. 131ff.; Rengstorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-61; Gerhard Sass, *Apostelamt und Kirche* (Munich: Chr. Raifer Verlag, 1939), pp. 42, 44, 140.

25. H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1952), p. 113.

This call experience is the most important factor in understanding Pauline theology. His apostolic consciousness rests on this call because he was called to be an apostle. Paul's call as recorded in Acts (9:3ff.; 22:4ff.; 26:9ff) and referred to by Paul (Gal. 1:16f.; 1 Cor. 9:1, 16; 1 Cor. 15:8; Phil. 3:12, etc.) shows such similarities with the O. T. prophets' calls that it is likely that Paul in telling of his call couched it in this language.²⁶

Amos denied any dependence on the professional prophets and claimed that his authority, mission and message came in his call of God (7:14f.) Likewise Paul denied any dependence on the Twelve and claimed that his entire ministry rested on his call. Isaiah was called in an experience in which he was aware of God's presence, confessed his sin, was forgiven, and was called to a mission of proclamation. This is parallel to Paul's experience, step by step. Paul's apostolic consciousness is directly parallel to Jeremiah's prophetic consciousness: both were called from their mother's womb, and both were assigned missions to the nations. Furthermore, the word of God to Jeremiah was like a "fire" shut up in his bones; Paul in the same spirit cried out, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel."

As in the case of the prophets, not only did Paul see the very foundation of his ministry as God's call and this the source of his mission, authority and message, but the possession of the word of God was also an endowment of authority. Paul's gospel was "the power of God" (Rom. 1:16). The prophets experienced an inner compulsion which caused them to say such things as "a burning fire" was shut up in their bones (Jer. 20:9). In the same spirit, Paul cried out "necessity is laid upon me . . ." (1 Cor. 9:16). Rengstorf was correct in his statement that Paul's special place among the apostles was secured because of "his recovery of the prophetic consciousness" and that his "apostolic consciousness is completely determined by his encounter with Jesus on the way to Damascus."²⁷ It is also true that when Paul called himself a *kletos apostolos* he was stating the secret of his concept of his own apostleship.

26. Johannes Munck, "La Vocation de l'Apotre Paul," *Studia Theologica*, I (Fasc. I, II, 1948), 138-140.

27. Rengstorf, *op. cit.*, pp. 60ff.

Apostle to the Gentiles.

Paul had a deep conviction that his mission was to proclaim the gospel to the Gentiles. To the Romans he was the "apostle of the Gentiles" (11:13) with the assignment to obtain "obedience of faith among all the nations, for his name's sake" (1:5). His apostleship was an integral part of the eschatological plan of God "until the fullness of the Gentiles be come in" (Rom. 11:25). His mission to the gentiles, which was decreed before his birth (Gal. 1:16) was successful (Rom. 15:18). This mission was as vital to Paul as life itself. The church of Jerusalem recognized Paul's gentile mission and the Acts account of his own conversion always mention this element.

Paul's apostolic consciousness of his mission to the Gentiles is largely responsible for the fact that Christianity became a universal faith in the first century.

The idea of a world-wide mission came not from Scripture but from Paul's own conception of apostolic calling. . . . God had been in Christ reconciling the world to himself, and it was Paul's vocation to see that the world heard the message of reconciliation.²⁸

Although Paul was the apostle to the gentiles, and saw his apostleship as parallel to that of Peter, the apostle to the Jews (Gal. 2:7f.), he was not unconcerned about his countrymen the Jews. In fact he seemed to think that his gentile mission was vitally related to the salvation of Jews (Rom. 9:3; Phil. 3:4-6). The suffering-love of Paul for the Jews is again reminiscent of Jeremiah who loved Israel even when she rejected God.²⁹ Upon his arrival in Rome Paul sent for the Jews to hear his defense:

For this cause therefore did I entreat you to see and to speak with me: for because of the hope of Israel I am bound with this chain. (Acts 28:20).

In Romans 9-11 Paul seemed to think that his preaching to the gentiles would provoke Jews to belief. Gerhard Sass has argued that since Paul thought the world would

28. G. B. Caird, *The Apostolic Age* (London: Gerald Duckworth and Co., 1955), p. 126.

29. Rengstorff, *op. cit.*, p. 58.

soon end, his preaching the gospel to the gentiles was a vital factor preceding that end.³⁰ However, Paul was a feverish itinerant missionary who worked as if the salvation of the world depended on his work and the gentile mission was the step immediately before him.

Separated for the Gospel of God.

Paul understood his apostleship to involve not only a call from God and a mission to the gentiles, but also it entrusted him with the Word of God which he was to proclaim. His chief duty was that of proclaiming this gospel to the gentiles. Nygren has made an interesting observation that since the verb *aphoridzo*, to set apart, is the root from which "Pharisee" comes then Paul

... had been "set apart." As a Pharisee he had set himself apart for the law. But now God had set him apart for something entirely different, "for the gospel of God." ... Thus in the very first verse of this epistle we encounter the letter's basic juxtaposition of law and gospel which, from one point of view, is the theme of Romans.³¹

It is generally recognized now that this emphasis on the gospel is itself an indispensable part of his apostolic consciousness³² and that this preaching of the gospel called the churches into existence (2 Thess. 2:14). Perhaps even the apostle's authority was based on the fact that he was the bearer of an authoritative message.

Like the Word of God which the prophets proclaimed, Paul's gospel was itself powerful. In Isaiah (55:11) the Word is portrayed as powerful to accomplish the objectives of God. Paul's message was "the power of God unto salvation," which established the Christians (Rom. 15:25), and called them into being (2 Thess. 2:14; 1 Cor. 4:15). This gospel was indispensable to salvation since no one could be saved without hearing it (Rom. 10:14), and the possession of it made Paul a debtor to all men (Rom. 1:14-16).

30. Sass, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

31. Anders Nygren, *Commentary on Romans* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1949), p. 45.

32. Anton Fridrichsen, *The Apostle and His Message* (Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells Boktryckeri Ab., 1947), p. 8.

To Paul, it appears, fulfilling his role as an apostle meant that he was busy proclaiming the gospel. He was "a preacher of the Gospel; a church organizer only in cases of necessity."³³ The emphasis on the apostles being witnesses of the resurrection is found in Acts and 1 Corinthians. However, with Paul this is the cardinal fact of the gospel and his proclamation of the gospel requires this emphasis. This proclamation of the gospel is mentioned in "practically all his references to his apostleship."³⁴ His imprisonment was termed "bonds of the gospel,"—he came not even to baptize but to "preach the gospel," and felt a necessity upon himself under which he exclaimed "woe is me if I preach not the gospel."

Conclusion

Paul should be given much of the credit for the N.T. concept of apostleship. The Greek terms were obscure until Paul used them in his letters. While it is yet uncertain as to whether there is an Aramaic term behind the Greek word, it is certain that the commonly accepted idea of an apostolate including only twelve could not have been known in Jesus' time. Otherwise Paul and others could not have been included in the title. Since the term is most prevalent in the writings of Paul and Luke, and both were of the gentile mission, and since most of Paul's uses of the word come in the sections of those epistles which deal with the controversy with the Judaizers, it seems almost certain that the term *apostolos* was catapulted into prominence in this controversy. Paul was not the first to bear this Greek title, but his writings are the first to give the title prominence in Christian literature. It is universally accepted that the epistles of Paul are the earliest writings of the N.T.

Not only the fact that Paul used the term first and most frequently, but his particular concept of the meaning of the term greatly influenced the idea of apostleship. He claimed that he had been made an apostle of Christ equal to any in the church by a divine revelation. He certainly re-

33. Ernst Von Dobschutz, *Christian Life in The Primitive Church*, trans. George Bremmer (London: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1904), p. 63.

34. Ernest De Witt Burton, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1921), p. 378f.

cognized others as apostles; both individuals and general groups. He knew of a large group of apostles which may have included, but was not synonymous with, the Twelve. But Paul had been called into the Christian ministry by Christ. His call was personal like that of the O.T. prophets. He had received a mission to proclaim a message of redemption to the gentiles. He sensed an inner compulsion to preach the gospel. This unusual call set him apart from his contemporaries so that he stood in the tradition of the old prophet. Then he so popularized the term "Paul the Apostle," in his writings that the two words became almost inseparable. When most people today think of apostles they think of feverish missionaries like Paul. The legends about the Twelve portray them in this light. However, the N.T. does not contain information on such activity by the Twelve, but rather it emphasizes other aspects of their work. Paul understood apostleship to involve missionary travel.

Paul did not deny the importance of the other types of Christian ministry but rather exalted them. Yet he thought that his call to be an apostle required him to engage in a ministry of itinerant proclamation. He very likely would expect every minister of Jesus Christ to have a deeply embedded conviction of God's call, the assignment of a mission, and an awareness that he had been made a steward of the Gospel. He would not have objected for these ministers to be called apostles also. The church of today could well stand a revival of Paul's understanding of his apostolic calling.

Luther's Discovery of Justification By Faith

BY ARTHUR BAMFORD CRABTREE

On July 17, 1505, a young successful law student sought admission to the Augustinian monastery in Erfurt. His name was Martin Luther. What led him to such a quixotic step? It was his anxiety about his salvation.¹

Luther's Despair

Luther was an earnest Catholic, and believed that the only way to be saved was to gain enough merit to satisfy the justice of God. He did not seem to himself to have nearly enough merit, nor did he seem likely to gain it by his present mode of life in the University. What would happen if he should die? He could expect only the damnation of God and the torments of hell. And death seemed very near to him on that day at the beginning of July, 1505, when a violent storm overtook him near Stotternheim and a flash of lightning struck him to the ground. In that moment he resolved to become a monk.² For a monk, as everybody knew, had the best chance of salvation, since he could augment his merit with the vigils and mortifications, penances and satisfactions of monastic life. Accordingly, on July 17, to the horror of his relations, who had begun to see him already as the brilliant and successful lawyer, he entered the monastery. On being received he was handed a read leather-bound copy of the Bible—a book that was to mean much to him in the years to come.³

Once inside the monastery, Luther applied himself wholeheartedly to his primary task—the winning of salvation. He sought it by the methods prescribed by the regnant theology of his day—Occamism.⁴ That theology, as far as the

1. O. Scheel, *Martin Luther, Vom Katholizismus zur Reformation*, 3. Aufl. (Tuebingen, 1921), Vol. I, pp. 241ff.
Cf. E. G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis, 1950), pp. 136ff.

2. Roland H. Bainton, *Here I stand, a Life of Martin Luther* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1950), p. 21.

3. A. C. McGiffert, *Martin Luther* (New York: Century, 1917), p. 35.

4. O. Scheel, *Dokumente zu Luthers Entwicklung* (1929), No. 223.

doctrine of salvation was concerned, was based on the great masters of the Franciscan school—Alexander of Hales, Bonaventura, Duns Scotus and William of Occam. It taught that in order to be accepted by God to salvation a man must begin by doing everything he can in his own strength (*facere quod in se est*) to do the will of God. If he succeeds in gaining a certain amount of merit (*meritum de congruo*), God will begin to look favorably upon him and grant him the grace (*gratia gratum faciens*) to learn that merit of worthiness (*meritum de condigno*) necessary for salvation.⁵

Luther entered the monastery bent upon the quest for merit. He prayed, he studied, he mortified himself by fastings and vigils and long exposure to cold. "I was a good monk," he wrote later,

and I kept the rule of my order so strictly that I may say that if ever a monk got to heaven by his monkery it was I. All my brothers in the monastery will bear me out. If I had kept on any longer, I would have killed myself with vigils, prayers, reading and other work.⁶

Yet he could never feel that he had done enough to earn the merit of congruence that would render God gracious to him. Hence his anguished cry: "Oh, when wilt thou do enough to find a gracious God?"⁷ Not only all his efforts seem to bring him no nearer to a gracious God, but they drove him further away. He writes,

I made the attempt (to find God) for twenty years in my monkery. I sought God with immense toil and the castigation of my body through fasting, washing, singing, praying, thereby shamefully wasting my time. Yet I never found him. Yea, the more I sought him and thought that by this means I could draw near to him, the further away I moved from him.⁸

All his efforts seemed destined to fail. Were they, he sometimes asked, predestined to fail? For he was tor-

5. Steberg, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, 4. Aufl. (1953), Vol. III, pp. 457ff. E. G. Schwiebert, *Luther and His Times* (St. Louis, 1950), pp. 167ff.

6. Quoted by Roland Bainton, *op. cit.*, p. 45.

7. J. Koestlin, *Luthers Theologie*, 2 Aufl. (Stuttgart, 1901), Vol. I, p. 11.

8. O. Scheel, *Dokumente*, No. 506.

mented by the thought of predestination, according to which God had predestined that certain individuals would inevitably be saved and others inevitably lost. Was he among those predestined to damnation? Despair, blank unending despair, invaded his soul.⁹

Luther's Discoveries

From this profound despair Luther was saved by three discoveries, all of them discoveries in the meaning of biblical words and doctrines. In October, 1512, he had been promoted to the doctorate and invested with the lectureship on the Bible in the University of Wittenberg. This gave him a welcome opportunity to study his beloved Bible, and it was during these studies that the new light came to him. He made those cardinal discoveries which changed his whole interpretation of scripture and laid the foundations of the Protestant Reformation. These discoveries were:

- (1) the biblical meaning of the 'righteousness of God';
- (2) the biblical meaning of 'justification'; and
- (3) the biblical way of 'justification by faith.'

1. The Meaning of the 'Righteousness of God'

Luther had grown up with the Aristotelian concept of righteousness as that strict justice which gives every man his due, and had always understood the righteousness of God (*justitia dei*) to be that avenging justice of God which brings judgment and retribution on the head of the sinner.¹⁰ No wonder that he trembled at the very sound of the words 'righteousness of God' and hated this God who in his righteousness (= justice) punished sinners for failing to achieve what they were predestined not to achieve.¹¹

In 1513-14 Luther lectured on the Psalms. Two psalms

9. Philip S. Watson, *Let God be God: An Interpretation of the Theology of Martin Luther* (London: Epworth, 1947), pp. 18f.

10. It is true, as Roman Catholic scholars like H. Denifle (*Luther and Lutherthum*, 1904), 2 Aufl., Bd. I, Theil 3, p. 423 and J. Lortz (*Die Reformation in Deutschland*, Freiburg: Herder, 1940 Vol. I, p. 183) have pointed out, that in some patristic and medieval exegetical works it had been interpreted otherwise. The stubborn fact remains however, that Luther had been trained not on these exegetical works but on the dogmatic works of Scholasticism, notably those of Occam, Biel and Lombard. Cf. Gordon Rupp, *The Righteousness of God, Luther Studies*, (London, Hodder 1953), pp. 123ff.

11. Gordon Rupp, *op. cit.*, pp. 2f.

in particular puzzled him. In Ps. 31:1 he read: "In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust; let me never be ashamed: deliver me in thy righteousness." And again in Ps. 71.1f.: "In thee, O Lord, do I put my trust: let me never be put to confusion. Deliver me in thy righteousness, and cause me to escape: incline thine ear unto me, and save me." How could God save in his righteousness if righteousness were nothing but avenging justice? Or did the righteousness of God mean something other than avenging justice? Luther did not know. He cast around for other scripture passages which might throw light on the matter. He found one in Rom. 1:16f.:

For I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ: for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek. For therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The just shall live by faith.

What is this 'righteousness of God' revealed in the gospel? That was the question which consumed him day and night as he meditated in the monastery tower at Wittenberg.¹² He says,

I was seized with an intense longing to understand Paul in his Epistle to the Romans. What had hitherto hindered my comprehension was not coldness of heart but a single word in the first chapter, namely, "the righteousness of God is revealed in it (i.e. in the gospel)." I just hated this word 'righteousness of God.' For I had been taught, according to the usage and custom of all the doctors, to understand it in the philosophical sense of that so-called formal or active righteousness (*justitia*) in virtue of which God is just (*justus*) and consequently punishes sinners and wicked men.

And I felt that, despite my irreproachable life as a monk, in the sight of God (*coram Deo*) I was nothing but a sinner of an exceedingly troubled conscience, who could not hope to placate him with my satisfactions. I did not even love him, but hated this just God who punished sinners. If not blasphemously, yet silently and vehemently I murmured

12. The precise date of this *Turmerlebnis* (tower experience) is unknown. Conjectures range between 1511 or 1512 (Karl Holl) and 1518-19 (H. Grisar). It seems probable, as Gordon Rupp and E. G. Schwiebert have shown, that it occurred around 1514.

against God, asking whether it was not enough that poor sinners and those condemned for original sin should be oppressed with all manner of calamities through the ten commandments, but that through the gospel God should add grief to grief and overwhelm us with his justice and wrath. So I raged in my wild and violent conscience, and yet I returned ever and again to this passage in Paul, ardently desiring to know what Paul meant.

At length, by the grace of God, after days and nights of study, I fixed my attention on the context of the words, namely, "The righteousness of God is therein revealed, as it is written, the righteous shall live by faith." It was then that I began to understand the righteousness of God as *the righteousness in which the righteous lives by the gift of God, namely, by faith*. I then began to understand the meaning of the passage to be that the righteousness of God which is revealed in the gospel is *the passive righteousness*¹³ *by which the merciful God makes us righteous by faith*, as it is written: the righteous shall live by faith. Now I felt as though I had been completely reborn, and had entered paradise through open doors. At once the whole of scripture took on a new aspect . . . As greatly as I had once hated this word 'righteousness of God' as greatly now I loved this word in which I now gloried as the sweetest of all words. And so this word of Paul became to me the very gate of paradise.¹⁴

Luther had discovered that the righteousness of God, as understood by Paul, is redemptive rather than retributive. It is a gift of God rather than a quality of God. Accordingly, when he lectured on Romans in 1515-16, he was able to say:

The righteousness of God is the source of salvation. And here let us note that by this righteousness of God we are not to understand the righteousness by which God himself is righteous, but that by which we become righteous through him.¹⁵

13. By 'Passive righteousness' Luther means that which we passively receive as God's gift. See W. von Loewenich, *Luther als Ausleger der Synoptiker* (1954), p. 165, and W. Link, *Das Ringen Luthers um die Freiheit der Theologie von der Philosophie* (1939), pp. 7ff.

14. Praefatio zur Gesamtausgabe seiner Werke, W. A. 54, pp. 185f. Quoted by O. Scheel, *op. cit.*, Dok. No. 511.

15. *Vorlesung ueber den Roemerbrief* (Munchen: Kaiser, 1935), p. 23.

This is of course Augustine's interpretation.¹⁶ But Luther later went beyond it, perceiving that this righteousness which is a gift of God flows from that righteousness which is a quality of God. This is apparent in his comment on Ps. 5:9 in his *Operations in Psalmos* of 1519-21. Later still, he says that this gift of God flows from that quality of righteousness which is indistinguishable from God's mercy—"that mercy by which we are accepted in his grace, that mercy by which he regards us as godly and righteous in Christ, by which our sins are forgiven."¹⁷ Luther has made his Copernican revolution.¹⁸ The righteousness of God is not primarily the avenging justice of God. It is his redeeming grace.¹⁹

2. The Meaning of 'Justification'

Greek is the language of the New Testament: Latin that of the Western Church. When in the early centuries of the Christian era the New Testament was translated into Latin, the Greek term *dikaion* was rendered by the Latin *justificare*. Now *dikaion* means 'to deem righteous,' 'to account righteous,' 'to acquit.'²⁰ *Justificare* means 'to make righteous.' It is therefore not surprising that 'justification' came to be misinterpreted in the Latin Church, particularly when Greek became an almost forgotten language in the West. Even Augustine fell into this misinterpretation. For although he occasionally glances at the possibility that 'justify' in the New Testament might mean 'to account just,'²¹ he nevertheless concludes that it means 'to make just or righteous.'²² Throughout the medieval period 'justification' was understood in this Augustinian sense, as a moral process by which a man is made righteous rather than as a forensic verdict by which a man is deemed righteous.

16. e.g. *De spiritu et littera*, 15.

17. On Ps. 51:16 (1532). Quoted by T. Harnack, *Luthers Theologie* (1862), Vol. I, p. 211. Neue Ausgabe (München: Kaiser, 1927).

18. Emil Brunner calls it his *ureigenste Tat*. (*Dogmatik*, Vol. I, p. 321).

19. Luther remembered however that it remains *also* avenging justice and wrath. This is what Ritschl later denied (*Rechtfertigung und Versöhnung*, Vol 2, pp. 102ff.).

20. G. Schrenk, Kittel's *Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament*, Vol. II, pp. 215ff.

21. e.g. *De spiritu et littera*, 45.

22. *Ibid.*, 45.

The Renaissance however brought a renewal of interest in ancient languages and literature. The Old Testament began to be studied once more in Hebrew and the New Testament in Greek. In 1506 Reuchlin published his Hebrew Grammar and in 1516 Erasmus his new edition of the Greek New Testament. Luther, like Zwingli, was enthusiastic about this linguistic study. He got Johann Lange to teach him Greek, and began to read the New Testament in the original tongue.

Luther soon learned that in Greek 'justify' means to 'deem righteous,' not to 'make righteous.' It is, he discovered, a forensic judgment, not a moral process. He had evidently learned this before he lectured in Romans in 1515-16. For in his comment on Rom. 2:13 he says:

To be 'righteous before God' is the same thing as to be 'justified before God.' A man is not regarded as righteous by God because he is righteous, but he is righteous because he is regarded as righteous . . . Similarly in Ps. 143:2 we read: 'For in thy sight shall no man be justified,' i.e., regarded as righteous.²³

In the same Lectures, commenting on Rom. 3:28, he says that justification is the opposite of condemnation, and commenting on Rom. 5:1 he says that it is identical with the forgiveness of sins. For we are regarded by God as righteous because he mercifully forgives our sins for Christ's sake. Thus

it is because the saints have their sin always before their eyes and beg righteousness of God in his mercy that they are regarded as righteous by God . . . In reality sinners, they are righteous in the esteem of a merciful God . . . Their sins are covered when, although they are present, they are disregarded, not looked at, not imputed.²⁴

Once he had recovered the New Testament meaning of justification, Luther never again lost it save in momentary lapses.²⁵ It shines forth luminously in his Galatian Com-

23. Vorlesung ueber den Romerbrief (Muenchen, 1935), pp. 675f.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 169.

25. See T. Harnack, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 327ff.

H. J. Iwand, *Glaubensgerechtigkeit nach Luthers Lehre* (1951), p. 62.

E. Seeberg, *Luthers Theologie in ihren Grundzugen* (1940), p. 118.

O. Ritschl, *Dogmengeschicht des Protestantismus*, I Bid., I Halfte (1912), p. 148.

mentary of 1531-35, in which, commenting on Gal. 2:16, he equates justification with being 'pronounced righteous before God' and adds that

it is not without good cause, therefore, that we do so often repeat and beat into your minds the forgiveness of sins, and imputation of righteousness for Christ's sake . . . to him that believeth in Christ, sin is pardoned and righteousness imputed.

Justification for Luther is thus no longer the impartation of righteousness by a moral transformation but the imputation of righteousness by a forensic verdict uttered in grace.

3. *The Way of Justification*

If justification is a divine verdict in our favor, how does it come about? For we are all without exception sinners. How can we be acquitted?

The one thing perfectly clear to Luther when he lectured on Romans in 1515-16 was that we are not justified because we deserve it. It is not in virtue of the merit of our good works that God justifies us.²⁶ It is rather through Christ and faith.²⁷ But it is not yet clear to Luther how it takes place through Christ and faith.²⁸ Indeed, in his comment on Rom. 4:7, he seems to overlook Christ and faith, and teaches that God can already regard us as righteous because he knows he is going to make us righteous, just as a physician can regard a sick person as healed because he knows he is going to heal him.

Luther repeats this view later in his Galatian Commentary of 1519, but now he is beginning to associate our justification more firmly with Christ and faith. He says:

Everyone who believes in Christ is righteous, not yet indeed completely in reality, but in hope; *for a beginning has been made with his justification and recovery*, as in the case of the man who was left dying half dead. Meanwhile, however, whilst he is becoming righteous and recovering, the sin which

26. See his comments on Rom. 1:1; 5:1; 5:5, *Vorlesung uber den Romerbrief*. (Munich, 1935), pp. 1f., 204f., 215ff.

27. See his comment on Rom. 5:1, *Ibid.*, pp. 204f.

28. Karl Holl claims too much when he says that in the Lectures on Romans of 1515-16 "das Kernstuck seiner Anschauung, die Rechtfertigungslehre, ist bereits zu einem Abschluss gelangt" (*Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 1932, Vol. I, p. 111).

still remains in his flesh is not imputed to him, *for the sake of Christ . . . God regards them as righteous and forgives them because they believe in his Son Jesus Christ, who is our mercy seat.*²⁹

In his still maturer work, the Galatian Commentary of 1531-35, he says nothing more about God regarding us as righteous because he knows he is going to make us righteous, but links our justification exclusively with the grace of God, the work of Christ and our faith.

Luther's fixed conclusion was that justification comes not by the merit of works but by the grace of God.³⁰ God manifests his grace in giving his Son to suffer for our sins and in graciously forgiving our sins for his sake. For "God hath laid our sins, not upon us, but upon his Son, Christ, that he bearing the punishment thereof might be our peace, and that by his stripes we might be healed (Isa. 53:5)."³¹ Christ thus takes the place of the sinner under the curse and condemnation of God in order that the sinner through faith in him might take his place under the blessing and justification of God.

So making a happy change with us, he took upon him our sinful person, and gave unto us his innocent and victorious person: wherewith we now being clothed, are freed from the curse of the law. For Christ was willingly made a curse for us, saying: As touching mine own person, both as human and divine, I am blessed and need nothing; but I will empty myself and will put upon me your person, that is to say, your human nature, and I will walk in the same among you, and will suffer death to deliver you from death. Now he thus bearing the sin of the whole world in our person, was taken, suffered, was crucified and put to death, and became a curse for us. But because he was a divine person and everlasting, it was impossible that death should hold him. Wherefore he rose again the third day from death, and now liveth forever; and there is neither sin nor death in him any more, but righteousness, life and everlasting blessedness.³²

29. Comment on Gal. 2:17, Calwer Ausgabe, (Stuttgart, 1933), Vol. V, p. 225.

30. Comment on Gal. 2:21. E.Tr., ed. P. S. Watson (London: Clarke, 1953), pp. 181ff.

31. Comment on Gal. 3:13, *Ibid.*, p. 271.

32. Comment on Gal. 3:13, *Ibid.*, p. 276.

This righteousness, life and blessedness become ours through faith in him.

Therefore wheresoever is a true faith in Christ, there sin is abolished, dead and buried. But where no faith in Christ is, there sin doth still remain. And albeit the remnants of sin be as yet in the saints because they believe not perfectly, yet are they dead in that they are not imputed unto them because of their faith in Christ.³³

For

faith taketh hold of Christ, and hath his present, and holdeth him inclosed, as the ring doth the precious stone. And whosoever shall be found having this confidence in Christ apprehended in the heart, him will God account for righteous.³⁴

Hence, concludes Luther,

the true way to Christianity is this, that a man do first acknowledge himself by the law to be a sinner, and that it is impossible for him to do any good work. For the law saith: Thou art an evil tree, and therefore all that thou thinkest, speakest, or doest, is against God. Thou canst not therefore deserve grace by thy works: which if thou goest about to do, thou doublest thy offence; for since thou art an evil tree, thou canst not but bring forth evil fruits, that is to say, sins. 'For whatsoever is not of faith is sin' (Rom. 14:23). Wherefore he that would deserve grace by works going before faith, goeth about to please God with sins, which is nothing else but to heap sin upon sin, to mock God, and to provoke his wrath. When a man is thus taught and instructed by the law, then is he terrified and humbled, then he seeth indeed the greatness of his sin, and cannot find in himself one spark of the love of God: therefore he justifieth God in his Word, and confesseth that he is guilty of death and eternal damnation. The first part then of Christianity is the preaching of repentance, and the knowledge of ourselves.

The second part is: if thou wilt be saved, thou mayest not seek salvation by works; for God hath sent his only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through him. He was crucified and died for thee, and bare thy sins in his own body . . . For God hath revealed unto us by his Word, that he

33. *Ibid.*, p. 277.

34. Comment on Gal. 2:16, *Ibid.*, p. 137.

will be unto us a merciful father, and without our deserts (seeing we can deserve nothing) will freely give unto us remission of sins, righteousness and life everlasting, for Christ his Son's sake. For God giveth his gifts freely unto all men, and that is the praise and glory of his divinity . . . This briefly is our doctrine as touching Christian righteousness.³⁵

We are thus justified by grace alone, by faith alone, through Christ alone, and not in virtue of any works or merit of ours. But when we are justified by faith, says Luther, we naturally do good works. For the faith which unites us with Christ is the faith which brings forth the fruits of the Spirit. Thus

when we have taught faith in Christ, then do we teach also good works. *Because thou hast laid hold upon Christ by faith*, through whom thou art made righteous, begin now to work well. Love God and thy neighbour, call upon God, give thanks unto him, praise him: fulfill thine office. These are good works indeed, *which flow out of this faith* and cheerfulness conceived in the heart, for that we have remission of sins freely by Christ.³⁶

Thus we are not justified because we do good works, but we do good works because we are justified.

Luther never, like some of his followers, denied the importance of good works. What he emphatically did deny was that we are justified by works, either by those works which precede faith or by those works which flow from faith. It was for this reason that he held that we are justified by faith alone. But he also contended that the faith which justifies is one which unites us with Christ and therefore does bring forth good works. "Thus", he says, "it is neither without good works nor in virtue of good works, that we can have salvation and righteousness."³⁶ Or in the words of a later Lutheran, Johann Gerhard, "While it is faith alone which justifies, faith is never alone, that is, it is never separated from love."³⁷

Such is the enduring message of Martin Luther and the keystone of our evangelical faith.

35. Comment on Gal. 2:16. *Ibid.*, pp. 131f.

36. Comment on Gal. 2:16. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

36. "Igitur neque sine operibus neque ex, sed cum operibus salus et iustitia potest haberi." *Lectures on Galatians*, 1516-17, on Gal. 2:16.

37. *Loci Theologici* (1610-1622), Loc. XVI. 176.

Forgotten Orthodoxy

By J. HERBERT GILMORE, Jr.

Scripture: Matthew 23:13-36

Text: Matthew 23:23; Luke 11:42

Religion is always in danger of the hardening of its arteries. The most perilous temptation of religion is to freeze its insights. A movement of reform that begins in prophetic courage and inspiration, within a generation makes absolutes out of the principles that brought the reformation.

This is seen most clearly in the development of the religion of the Old Testament. The intense personal relationship with God which marked the prophets is lost when the prophets' insights are frozen in the written word of the Law. As. Dr. Wheeler Robinson says:

Revelation was no longer the spoken word of the prophet; it was the written word of the law. With the introduction of that Law, prophecy disappears except in the form of anonymous literature. That immediate fellowship with God through moral and spiritual character, which is the glory of the great prophets, is replaced by a prescribed knowledge of His will, a formulated statement of His requirements for all time. Revelation is a great fact still, but it is thrown out of the living present into the dead past.¹

God was then contained in the book. It meant that God was removed from living fellowship, and salvation consisted in performing the details of the Law.

The same development may be seen in the life of the early Christian movement. The Apostle Paul described the followers of Christ, the Church, as the "Body of Christ", "the pillar and ground of truth." His emphasis was on the fellowship of the Christian community acknowledging Christ as Lord. There was no trace of institutional authority, nor the faintest notion of an ecclesiastical rulership. The Church was instructed by men who were organs of the Spirit—apostles, prophets, pastors, evangelists and teachers. (1 Cor. 12-14). But by 115 A.D. Christian leaders were already sug-

1. H. Wheeler Robinson, *Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (London: Duckworth, 1930), p. 126.

gesting that the only one who was capable of interpreting the gospel was the bishop of the congregation. Then, bishops of the "Mother Churches" — that is, churches where the apostles had worked—were held as the organs of orthodoxy in the fight against heresy.

By 250 A.D. the church was not primarily a "fellowship" in living relation with Christ, but an institution imparting salvation. The church as an institution taught what was orthodox in terms of tradition mixed with the gospel. The authority increasingly was the Bishop of Rome, so that by 250 A.D. he could settle matters of faith by his pronouncements.

It seems that the historian is right in his remark: "What history teaches is that men and nations never learn anything from history." For the Reformation of the sixteenth century fell prey to the same development. The young Catholic monk, Martin Luther, had broken through the crass religious practices of the time, because he had recaptured the New Testament emphasis on personal communion with God. "The just shall live by faith", said Luther, quoting Paul. He taught that we are to love God, not to win his favor, but to express our gratitude for his goodness to us. He lived in vital relationship with God and could write:

And though this world with devils filled,
Should threaten to undo us,
We will not fear, for God hath willed
His truth to triumph through us.
The prince of darkness grim,
We tremble not for him;
His rage we can endure,
For lo! his doom is sure,
One little word shall fell him.

Yet, this dynamic religious power that shook Europe to its foundations, within a generation, had bogged down into formal orthodoxy. The Reformation principle that the Bible was the only basis for Christian faith and practice was perverted to such an extent that not only every word was said to be true, but even the Hebrew vowel points. Also, the principle that we are justified by faith, by joyful commitment to our Lord, was perverted so that it did not mean commitment to the living Lord but assent to the orthodox creed.

Now, of course, it is axiomatic that every creative period of human endeavor must be followed by formulating results of the movement systematically.

But our text urges us to probe more deeply.

Jesus' major difficulty was not with the irreligious, but with the religious leaders. Why? Our text gives us the answer—they had an orthodoxy of the head but not of the heart. They were scrupulous in every detail of the law, but signal failures in things of the spirit. They tithed meticulously—even the small aromatic herbs, such as mint, anise or dill, and cummin. The Talmud tells of the ass of a certain Rabbi which had been so well trained as to refuse corn of which the tithes had not been taken. (Now, Jesus did not condemn tithing—"these ye ought to have done." What he does condemn is doing it or any other external act to the neglect of weightier matters.) In a word, Jesus calls men back to forgotten orthodoxy.

There is no peril so great in religion as the substitution of external acts of orthodoxy for the fervent commitment of the spirit. It is so much easier to pay our money, to fill our pew and give lip service to what is vaguely right, than it is to commit ourselves sacrificially to the demands of the living Christ. It is much easier to learn with the head what divines of the past have said is right, than to follow in this moment with the heart the intimations of the Spirit. There is a sting in Soren Kierkegaard's words: "It is easier to become a Christian when I am not a Christian, than to become a Christian when I am one."²

The Pharisees and scribes knew well the 608 laws of orthodox Judaism, but they had forgotten some things that were orthodox. And Jesus said they had forgotten the better part.

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites!
For ye pay tithe of mint and anise and cummin, and
have omitted the weightier matters of the law,
judgment, mercy, and faith. These ought ye to have
done, and not to leave the other undone (Matt.
23:23).

Could it be that we are guilty of the same thing? Is it

2. *Concluding Unscientific Postscript*, (Princeton: Princeton U. Press), p. 327.

possible that we have "omitted the weightier matters"? Are we guilty of forgotten orthodoxy? There are some areas that indicate that we are guilty.

Consider, first, Jesus' imperious demand to "go into all the world, declaring the Gospel." This is forgotten orthodoxy! It is fundamental to the gospel of Christ that it is something to be perpetually shared. It is not too much to say that in a very vital sense we are saved to be the means of salvation to someone else. But this is a missing note in our orthodoxy. And the world languishes while we keep our silence.

Sometime ago Dr. Frank Laubach, the famed missionary of literacy, wrote a book with a startling title, *Wake Up or Blow Up*. But the message of the book was even more startling. In the Far East, more than ninety per cent of the people are illiterate. Ignorance stalks the masses; minds are frozen to uselessness. Sickness and disease are appalling in scope. In India, most of the people have a parasitic condition which lowers their vitality and saps their strength. Life expectancy is less than thirty years. China and Africa are ravaged by malnutrition and tuberculosis. More than half of the people of the world go to bed hungry every night. The nations that need food most are incapable of producing it themselves or buying it from others. They do not possess the technical knowledge and equipment, nor the vitality to produce a sufficient food supply.

Science has made the people of the world neighbors—physically. What happens today in Shanghai, China, affects us much more than what happened in Chicago seventy-five years ago. Although science has made us neighbors by drastically reducing the distance that separates us (now we talk of distance in terms of hours, not of miles), it has not made us brothers spiritually. This is the imperative task of the Christian Church—to win the bodies and souls of the people of the world to Christ; to light the minds in darkness with knowledge; to instill hope where there is abysmal despair; to bring significance, purpose, and dignity to every man—through the saving grace of our Lord Jesus Christ. Time is running out! Our opportunity is now! Communism makes our task more acute, but God always has ways of overcoming difficulties when he can arouse his own people from their slumbers.

How demanding is the need of our world! Europe, once the bastion of Christian advance, now needs to be evangelized. England has empty cathedrals and deserted chapels. Nihilism and despair are rampant. Hate abounds in the Near East. Arabs and Jews are at dagger point. Moslems have not forgotten the Crusades.

Our orthodoxy is not complete when we fill our pews, and our church bills are paid. We are guilty of forgotten orthodoxy unless we remember that the world is our domain, and every man is our responsibility who knows not our Lord. "Go yet therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you: and, lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world." This is forgotten orthodoxy!

In the second place, consider the insistence of our Lord that purity of heart, not external righteousness, is the mark of goodness. This is forgotten orthodoxy! The Jewish leaders kept the minutiae of religious observance. Religion had been turned into a calculated bargaining. Watch them at the scales as they minutely weigh the mint and seed. They must be very careful that God gets his tenth. But in their preoccupation to perform properly the external laws, they overlooked the internal virtues of justice, mercy, and faith.

Jesus used two symbols to press home this urgent lesson. He talked about the scrupulous way the cup was cleansed on the outside, but not on the inside—a parable of their lives—and ours. Many a man is willing to compromise with religion by keeping meticulously the conventions of religion. This is America's great sin. Like the Pharisees to whom he spoke, the religious of our day all too often keep the traditional trappings of religion while continuing their extortion, injustice, and impersonal lovelessness to men.

This is bad enough, but Jesus' second symbol is like a thrust in the heart to heinous hypocrisy. Listen to him!

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! For ye are like whited sepulchres, which indeed appear beautiful outward, but are within full of dead men's bones and of all uncleanness. Even so ye also outwardly appear righteous unto men, but within ye are full of hypocrisy and iniquity (Matt. 23:27-8).

Like whited sepulchres! What a stinging rebuke for every man in every generation. Here is spotlighted the sickness of our land—the sins of respectability. Multitudes in our nation are more concerned to maintain an aura of respectability than to possess genuine character; more concerned about reputation than rectitude. But Jesus indicts this. He once said that a prostitute would enter heaven more easily than a “righteous” man concerned for his reputation but unconcerned about the injustices of his age.

We are quick to condemn the sins of the flesh and ostracize those who are caught in such wiles, while the greater sins of the spirit go unnoticed. What we condemn most severely, Jesus would not. In his judgment, the sins of the spirit are the skeletons in the closet, the “dead men’s bones.” These sins of the spirit produce respectable sinners, uncharitable and self-righteous, that live for themselves, unconcerned that justice, mercy, and faith shall be practiced among all men! They are dead, indeed, for no fresh intimation of the Spirit can break out among them.

It is not too much to say that our whole civilization is like “whited sepulchres.” Heavy of heart, disquieted of mind, weary in spirit, “hollow men”, knowing not from whence we have come nor whither we go—is this not our condition? Yet, we keep up our pretenses. We glory in our sky-scrapers and automobiles and the number of baths in our homes! We are full of defilement, and there is no health in us; we are uneasy, uncertain, undone. Yet we whitewash our condition, trusting in gadgets, in education, in social reform and in business booms—for salvation.

Until we will have our minds righted and our sense of values corrected, so that we see and accept Jesus’ insistence that true life is dependent on the condition of the heart, we shall have no peace. This is forgotten orthodoxy!

Consider, in the third place, how Jesus insists that each generation kills its own prophets, while honoring those of yesterday.

We are guilty of colossal historical pride. We are quite sure we would not have killed Jesus, or any of the prophets. We speak as did the Pharisees, upon whom Jesus pronounced this fierce woe:

Woe unto you, scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites! because ye build the tombs of the prophets, and garnish the sepulchres of the righteous, and say, If we had been in the days of our fathers, we would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets (Matt. 23:29-30).

We praise Abraham Lincoln today, but his contemporaries did not. By them he was often spoken of contemptuously. We laud his Gettysburg Address as a classic utterance. At the time, it was criticized as "falsifying history." The *Chicago Times* said of the speech:

The cheek of every American must tingle with shame as he reads the silly, flat and dishwatery utterances of the man who has to be pointed out to intelligent foreigners as the President of the United States.³

So, "We would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." But are we sure?

In 1917 Woodrow Wilson, then president of our nation, dreamed a majestic dream, when "the war-drum throbbed no longer and the battle-flags were furled, in the Parliament of man, the Federation of the world." He spent himself trying to get his fellow-countrymen to accept his dream of a League of Nations. But he was looked upon as a visionary, a dreamer, an impractical idealist. He killed himself trying to get his contemporaries to see the urgency of his dream. We would have none of the dreamer of the White House. So, "We would not have been partakers with them in the blood of the prophets." But are we sure?

Why do men garland the graves of ancient worthies, but persecute their contemporary successors? This is what the world has been doing to its saints and leaders in every generation—giving a Socrates the hemlock poison; hanging a Savonarola on a scaffold to burn; burying a Giordano Bruno at the stake; nailing Jesus Christ to the cross.

If Jesus were to return, many think they would like to see him. But would they? Studdert Kennedy answered this question in his moving lines, "When Jesus Came to Birmingham."

3. Benjamin P. Thomas, *Abraham Lincoln*, p. 403.

When Jesus came to Birmingham, they simply passed him by
They wouldn't hurt a hair of him, they merely let him die.
For men had grown more tender, they would not give him pain,
They only passed on down the street, and left him in the rain.
Still Jesus cried, "Forgive them, Father, for they know not what they do,
And still it rained the winter's rain that drenched him through and through.
And all went home and left the street, without a soul to see
And Jesus crouched against a wall and cried for Calvary.

Yes, we were there when they crucified our Lord!

God's prophets are thundering his truth today, calling for social and economic justice, for brotherhood among all men, for righteousness from men and nations. In some areas this demand for justice has prompted the removal of the prophet. The penalty of refusing God's prophets is tragic. Jesus intends that we shall heed his prophets. But this is forgotten orthodoxy! When God's prophets are unheeded, the lesson of history proves so abundantly the words of our Lord: "Behold, your house is left unto you desolate."

Forgotten orthodoxy!—to go to the ends of the earth in the name of Christ; to purify the heart as fit service to God; to listen to God through his prophets in our generation. "Take heed how ye hear . . . for unless we repent, we shall all likewise perish."

Book Reviews

I. BIBLICAL STUDIES

The Geography of the Bible. By Denis Baly. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 303 pages. \$4.95.

Though three good Bible atlases have been published recently (by Westminster, Harper, and Nelson), this is the only major English work on the Geography of the Bible since the appearance of George Adam Smith's *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* in 1894. The next major treatment of the subject was Abel's two-volume French work, *La Geographie de la Palestine*, which appeared in the 1930's and has remained the standard reference work in the area since that time. Baly's book replaces none of these other works nor on the other hand do they make his volume unimportant. With laudable insight he has strengthened perhaps the weakest link in the chain of historical-geographical studies of Palestine—i.e., the relation of the country's geological structure to the shaping of its physical geography which, in turn, is so determinative for the history of the land. In photographs and illustrations, also, he has emphasized those areas least known from previous works. Another often neglected emphasis to which he lends strong support is his insistence that Palestine was the "Chosen Land" and normal scene of Revelation even as the Hebrews were the "Chosen" recipients of it.

On the other hand, he is content to leave topographical and archaeological emphases primarily to the interests of others—making a Bible atlas a necessary tool alongside it. Indeed, one of the chief criticisms of the book may be made at this point, for the author at times employs modern Arabic place-names as points of departure in his discussion of geographical features of the country without providing the reader with any map-location of the site under discussion. A map of Palestine which employs modern place-names would add immeasurably to the usefulness of the book. It is to be hoped that such a map will be added to subsequent printings of the volume.

A number of errors have escaped the author's attention: e.g., (1) the spelling of place-names in the text is not always consistent with that on the maps—making for some confusion; (2) figures 28 (p. 134) and 29 (p. 139) are out of place and should be interchanged; and (3) the statement (p. 205) that the southern embayment of the Dead Sea is "never more than 3 feet deep" is certainly in error. These, however, must not be allowed to obscure the fact that the author has made a very valuable contribution to the literature on the geography of the Holy Land.

Wm. H. Morton

The Book of the Law. By G. T. Manley. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 192 pages. \$3.50.

When this former mathematical lecturer set out to analyze, in the book of Deuteronomy, the data which would shed light on date and authorship, he apparently was determined to leave no stones undisturbed. His finished product spells admirable success. None can deny that Manley uses good, accepted, critical methods. In addition to scholarly methods, his work testifies to a fine Christian spirit. The end result is strong evidence that Deuteronomy must be attributed to a very early source—a contrast to the generally accepted Wellhausen view. As to his conclusion that the probable author was Moses, not many will be persuaded. Henceforth, however, this book must be considered in any study of the Pentateuchal problem.

Ralph Elliott

The Exilic Age. By Charles Francis Whitley. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 160 pages. \$3.50.

In a brief, but excellent discussion, Whitley lays the historical and thought background of seventh and sixth century times. This involves the decline of Mesopotamia and the rise of Persia. Here is a description of the speculation of the Greeks as to the cause of the cosmos, of Buddha in his setting in quest of the highest truth, and of Zoroaster and the Persians in an analysis of the opposing forces of good and evil. Against this background the author sets his interpretation of Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah. Though the treatment of Jeremiah kindles little reflection which differs from the ordinary, the author's analysis of Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah is exciting. Whitley's penetrating portrayal of Deutero-Isaiah's message as an answer to the speculations of the philosopher, of Buddha, and of Zoroaster, is superb. To add to the value of the book, the footnotes cite the reader to the most pertinent sources relative to Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and Deutero-Isaiah.

Ralph H. Elliott

The New Testament Background: Selected Documents. By C. K. Barrett. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. 276 pp. \$3.50.

The Reverend C. K. Barrett, a Methodist minister who has been lecturer in theology at the British University of Durham since 1945, has already placed the world of New Testament scholarship in his debt by splendid works on the Holy Spirit and the Fourth Gospel. In this book he has made a careful selection of documents which represent most of the literature that is relevant to New Testament backgrounds. All of these are selections from the original sources, with copious notes, and offer to the serious reader the very best

selection that is available in one book of those writings which give us the thought-patterns surrounding our New Testament writers, and the historical references which illuminate the Biblical text.

Some of the historical materials in Suetonius, Tacitus, and Josephus are readily available in most theological libraries; but the careful selections made by Barrett are now available in inexpensive form to anyone who wants them. His excerpts from the Papyri, the Hermetic Literature, and the Mystery Religions are invaluable for serious New Testament interpreters; and some of these were not readily available until this volume appeared. In addition, extensive sections of the Rabbinic writings are quoted, logically arranged, and thoroughly annotated. This source book is unique in the tremendous scope of the writings from which it draws and in the skillful way the excerpts are chosen, always with respect to their immediate value in illuminating the Biblical text. Such a collection will immediately take its place as an indispensable source book on the desk of the New Testament interpreter.

Wayne E. Ward

The Scrolls and The New Testament. Edited by Krister Stendahl. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 308 pages. \$4.00.

Krister Stendahl, Associate Professor of New Testament at Harvard University, in this volume brings to the attention of the interested reader fourteen articles on different aspects of the relation between the Dead Sea Scrolls and the New Testament. All these articles with the exception of three have appeared previously in German, English, or Latin in scholarly journals.

While all of the essays in this collection are very interesting, I was more impressed with the following: Raymond E. Brown, "The Qumran Scrolls and the Johannine Gospel and Epistles"; Karl Georg Kuhn, "The Two Messiahs of Aaron and Israel"; W. D. Davies, "Paul and the Dead Sea Scrolls: Flesh and Spirit"; and W. H. Brownlee, "John the Baptist in the New Light of Ancient Scrolls."

Those who are interested in what bearing the Dead Sea Scrolls have on the New Testament will discover that this book is extremely important in that the more significant articles on the subject are edited in one book.

T. C. Smith

The Life and Teaching of Jesus Christ. By James S. Stewart. Nashville: Abingdon Press. 192 pages. \$1.50.

Without attempting to appeal to the world of scholarship in which he is a highly respected leader Professor Stewart has written capably and clearly for multitudes of earnest Bible students. Those who have enjoyed his previous books will be delighted with this one which can be supplied the laity with enthusiasm. It is well

organized and offers discussion questions and Bible readings after each of the twenty-one chapters. This is a reprint of an earlier book which proved very popular in Bible classes and youth groups of the Church of Scotland.

J. Estill Jones

The Twelve: The Story of Christ's Apostles. By Edgar J. Goodspeed. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company, 1957. 182 pages. \$3.50.

This is the most recent work from the active pen of Dr. Goodspeed, for many years a member of the University of Chicago faculty. In it he combines New Testament evidence with early traditions to give a composite picture of the Twelve. It is divided into two parts: "The Apostolic Age" and "Apostolic Sequels", both of which are all too brief to deal adequately with the lives of twelve men. Although the book contains valuable information the necessary brevity has lessened its usefulness.

J. Estill Jones

The Gospel from the Mount. By John Wick Bowman and Roland W. Tapp. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957. 189 pages. \$3.75.

Professor Bowman returned to his Alma Mater, Southern Baptist Seminary, in the spring of 1957 to deliver the Norton Lectures at the annual Pastors' Conference. His subject was the Sermon on the Mount and these lectures form the basis for this book. He has been Professor of New Testament Interpretation at San Francisco Theological Seminary since 1944 and is the author of the helpful interpretation of the ministry of Jesus entitled *The Intention of Jesus*. Associated with him in the writing of this book as research colleague is Roland W. Tapp.

The book itself is an interpretation of the Sermon on the Mount against the background of Old Testament thought and Aramaic poetry. It is well-written and contains a wealth of helpful references to Jewish literature. The author however exaggerates the significance of the Aramaic for the interpretation of the Sermon. If there existed in the area of New Testament Aramaic studies more evidence and less conjecture, the case would be more attractive. The case for the Aramaic is predicated on the essential correctness of conjectural translations from the Greek into the Aramaic, and in spite of interesting references in the Dead Sea Scrolls and other Jewish literature the evidence is not convincing. This is not to say that a knowledge of the Aramaic such as Professor Bowman possesses is not helpful to New Testament interpretation. Of course it is well-nigh essential, but Professor Bowman makes the relationship between New Testament Greek and Aramaic studies too smooth. The same may be said for many apparent references in the Sermon to the

Old Testament. The relationship has been drawn more closely than the evidence warrants.

The book is quite useful, however, and is a worthwhile addition to the literature on the Sermon. It is regrettable that the helpful footnotes have been relegated to the last few pages of the book.

J. Estill Jones

The Study of the Parables. By Ada R. Habershon. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1957. 366 pages. \$3.95.

Although not indicated on the title page or in the preface, this is a reprint of an older work. It is an extremely conservative study of the parables which, by the application of the allegorical method, seeks to set forth a threefold interpretation of the parables: historical, typical, and dispensational.

Heber F. Peacock

The Study of the Miracles. By Ada R. Habershon. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1957. 310 pages. \$3.95.

This book is lithoprinted from a much older work and does not take into account any of the studies on miracles of recent years. The author leans heavily on a typological method of interpretation which serves to defend a particular view of inspiration.

J. Estill Jones

The Acts of the Apostles. By C. S. C. Williams. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 310 pages. \$4.00.

The Epistle to the Romans. By C. K. Barrett. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 293 pages. \$4.00.

These two volumes are members of a series of New Testament Commentaries, written by outstanding scholars, mainly British, and published by Harper & Brothers. Dr. Williams is Fellow of Merton College, Oxford. Dr. Barrett is Senior Lecturer in Theology, University of Durham.

The two books are quite similar in plan and character. Each gives adequate attention to historical-critical questions and to bibliography. Each author gives his own fresh and stimulating translation of the Greek. Each focuses attention on key words and central movements (Acts) and teachings. Each stays close to the context, and illuminates it with pertinent scriptures outside of Acts and Romans. Each writes in a style that is clear and forceful. No one volume, of course, can be exhaustive in treating Acts and Romans.

These commentaries belong in college and seminary classrooms, and in the studies of the best pastors.

William W. Adams

Commentary on the Epistles to the Ephesians and Colossians. By E. K. Simpson and F. F. Bruce. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 1957. 328 pages. \$4.00.

This volume is the latest in the series of commentaries, *The New International Commentary on the New Testament*, which purport to "give direction to conservative New Testament scholarship for years to come." The quality of the individual books is not equal, and this can be said of the two commentaries included in this single volume. Professor Bruce of Sheffield has written clearly and with understanding on Colossians. His brief treatment of the "Colossian Heresy" is forthright and acceptable. The work on Ephesians by Mr. Simpson however is something of disappointment. A major objection must be registered to the author's style, the very ornateness of which prevents understanding of the author's comments.

J. Estill Jones

The Epistles of Paul the Apostle to the Colossians and to Philemon. An Introduction and Commentary. By C. F. D. Moule. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957. 170 pages. \$3.75.

This is the first volume to appear in a new series, *The Cambridge Greek Testament Commentary*, designed to replace the old series called *The Cambridge Greek Testament for Schools and Colleges*. The author of this volume is the General Editor of the series. If the intention to give us a new theological commentary based on linguistic and historical considerations is carried out as well in the following volumes as it is in this one, we shall at last have in our hands an adequate English commentary on the Greek text of the New Testament. This volume contains an introduction to the religious thought of the Epistles as well as an up-to-date critical introduction. The brief commentary, carefully documented, seeks to discover the exact meaning of each passage and to set forth its theological significance. This is exegesis at its best.

Heber F. Peacock

II. HISTORICAL STUDIES

The Early Christian Church, 2 volumes. By Philip Carrington. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1957. 520 and 519 pages. Two volume set, \$17.50 (each volume \$10.00).

The Archbishop of Quebec presents in these two volumes the story of the rise and development of the Christian Church to the Council of Nicaea. This is, as the author himself indicates, a conservative history which avoids as far as possible theoretical reconstruction and which seeks to portray as clearly as possible the persons and events of the period. This results, however, in what at times appears to be merely a chronicle which leaves the reader

guessing as to the significance of events and the role of the persons involved.

On the other hand, one can be grateful for the extensive use of source material and the presentation of the story which the documents themselves reflect, being left free thereby to draw his own conclusions as to ultimate meaning. In a very real sense these volumes are a study of the sources as truly as a history of the Early Church. The sources and traditions are conservatively handled.

As could be expected, there is a strong interest in the liturgical elements of the history and the story of the development of worship is one of the interesting features of the volumes.

The volumes are well written and proved an excellent introduction to the history of the period and with the indexes will serve as a very useful reference work.

Heber F. Peacock

The Library of Christian Classics. Volume XIII: Late Medieval Mysticism. Edited by Ray C. Petry. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1947. 424 pages. \$5.00.

In this volume Professor Petry brings together and edits choice excerpts from the writings of fifteen medieval mystics. In time the writings date from the early twelfth to the opening of the sixteenth century (Bernard of Clairvaux to Catherine of Genoa).

A general introduction of 29 pages on "the province and character of mysticism" enhances the book's value; as do the bibliographies, notes, and indexes. A good job, worthy of the splendid series to which it belongs. Ministers should schedule the purchase of one volume of this series per month, until the whole is obtained.

T. D. Price

Melanchthon, The Quiet Reformer. By Clyde Leonard Manschreck. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 350 pages. \$6.00.

This is a work which sorely needed doing, and the need is well met indeed. This is biography in good style: rests on broad and critical inquiry into the sources, is balanced and fair, is developed in relation to the times and thought in which Melanchthon moved, and—what is not an inconsiderable merit—is written in very lively fashion.

Melanchthon was one of the central figures in the Protestant Reformation. He has always been a figure around whom the hottest controversies have gathered. Manschreck's study will contribute much towards eliminating causes for the rather general misunderstandings, and will probably serve to bring American students to closer acquaintance with a sadly neglected chapter of Reformation history.

The format and illustrations remind one of Bainton's, *Here I Stand* (a life of Luther); and Bainton's mark is on the work in

other ways. This is good. But the work is Manschreck's. It is competent work, and worthy of his mentor. Anyone to whom history is no idle tale will find this exciting and profitable reading.

T. D. Price

With Freedom Fired. By Graham W. Hughes. London: The Carey-Kingsgate Press, Ltd., 1955. 123 pages. 8 shillings, 6 pence.

Among the several very remarkable English Baptist leaders of the later Eighteenth Century, none was more remarkable than Robert Robinson of Cambridge. A convert of George Whitfield's, he arose from his humble status of hairdresser to that of eloquent preacher to the University of Cambridge and spokesman for English non-conformity. His biography, long overdue, is faithfully and attractively done. All who are interested in the cause of religious freedom would do well to make the acquaintance of Robert Robinson. As champion of this cause, as hymn-writer, scholar and preacher, he was an extraordinary Baptist indeed. We continue to sing his hymns, "Come Thou Fount of Every Blessing" and "Mighty God, While Angels Bless Thee."

W. L. Lumpkin

Christian Science and Its Discoverer. By E. Mary Ramsay. Boston: The Christian Science Publication Society, 1955. 137 pages.

A reprint of a 1923 publication, this brief biography of Mary Baker Eddy was primarily intended for circulation in the British Isles. Its preparation was suggested to the author by the existence of a number of short books and pamphlets on Christian Science which were "incorrect and critical." The author, it may be conceded, has made some corrections. Moreover, she has disposed of "critical matter" until only an apology for Christian Science remains. Useful as a brief biography, the work is nevertheless wanting in objectivity. Neither does it argue with any appreciable force the assertion that Christian Science is "the most outstanding discovery of this age."

W. L. Lumpkin

God's Men of Color. By Albert S. Foley. New York: Farrar, Straus, and Cudahy, Inc., 1955. 322 pages. \$4.50.

The first Colored Roman Catholic priest in America, James Augustine Healy, was ordained in 1854. His story and that of the seventy-one other American Negroes who have followed in his steps are interestingly told in a hundred year survey. The author struggles against some commonly held notions concerning the Negro priesthood: that Rome does not encourage the training of Negroes for the priesthood in America, that the hierarchy does not like to use Negro priests in pastoral capacities, that Colored Catholics

do not want Colored priests. His dream, to the fulfillment of which this work intended to contribute, is that the Negro population of America will be converted to Catholicism. The number of Negro priests is admittedly low, but the author finds hope in the rise of "a new generation" of Colored priests since the Second World War. Eleven American Negro priests have engaged in mission work overseas.

W. L. Lumpkin

The Catholic Approach to Protestantism. By George H. Tavad. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955. 159 pages. \$2.50.

It is refreshing to find a book written by a Roman Catholic priest in America about Protestantism which is not directly designed for proselytizing to Catholicism. Perhaps because the author is a native of France, although now living in New York, he is able to assume a marked objectivity in speaking of a possible reapproachment of Catholicism and Protestantism. His sincerity is quite as impressive as his objectivity.

As a review of the history of both Catholic and Protestant ecumenism, the work is useful. The author is obviously impressed by the modern ecumenical movement within Protestantism and is at once encouraged and frightened by it. He argues with considerable force that such unity as may be discoverable between Catholicism and Protestantism must be found on the levels of culture and spirituality, not on the basis of creeds simply.

However, the author's window on Protestantism looks almost entirely in the direction of the old state churches and toward similarities to Romanism in their viewpoint and structure. He does not know the free churches, although he detects in their understanding of the doctrine of the Church a basic divergence from Roman Catholicism.

The work contains some glaring factual inaccuracies as, for example, his inclusion of 7,000,000 Negro Baptists under the denominational heading of "Southern Baptists."

His prayer for unity which is that of a liberal minded Catholic is worth reading. Not even a liberal Catholic, however, is free to propose a unity on other than Romanist terms, as a prefatory statement clearly shows.

W. L. Lumpkin

The Spirit of American Christianity. By Ronald E. Osborn. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 241 pages. \$3.75.

This excellent book grew out of lectures at the Ecumenical Institute in Switzerland. Professor Osborn of Butler University, consciously writing from the theological and ecclesiological viewpoint of the Disciples of Christ, interprets with commendable comprehension and fairness the spirit of American Protestantism to non-Americans. In eight chapters, he deals topically with American

Protestantism. Denominational multiplicity is explained in terms of European heritage, frontierism, and free churchism. In general, however, the various denominations have common features: centrality of preaching enlistment through evangelism, love for pastoral leadership, activism, friendliness, independency, theological simplicity, social benevolence, program of stewardship, free worship, Christian education, etc. Despite religious competition, the American churches, Osborn insists, are searching for a unity in freedom, if not for union. Beneath the theological surface (whose waves are traditionalism, liberalism, fundamentalism, and neo-orthodoxy), he argues, there is a sea of satisfying faith. In the last chapter he asks critical questions about the genuineness of the so-called "return to religion." For the person who desires further study there is a brief but choice bibliography for each chapter. Each pastor should read this work closely, not only for information, but also for insight.

Hugh Wamble

History of Religions. By E. O. James. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 237 pages. \$2.75.

The number of books appearing in the field of comparative religion, especially the number written by competent scholars but intended as serious introductory works for general readers, attests the significance of this branch of study today. This book is easily the best in this category. It is the fruit of many years of study, reflection and teaching. The author is a well-known British scholar and is professor emeritus of the History and Philosophy of Religion in the University of London. The book contains errors, some of them rather glaring, but one judges this to be the consequence of the sweeping generalizations necessary to express such a comprehensive subject in such concise form. In very skillful fashion the author covers the usual gamut from primitive religion through the ancient culture religions to the major "living" religions of today. The most creative and helpful chapter is the final one, on "The Study of the History of Religions." A very serious defect of the book is the type of print and the general format used.

Herbert C. Jackson

Christianity Among the Religions of the World. By Arnold Toynbee. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1957. 116 pages. \$2.75.

In the historical section (chapter III) of these Hewett Foundation Lectures delivered in the autumn of 1955, Toynbee displays brilliance, creativity, and accuracy of interpretation. He analyzes the relationship of Christianity to Western civilization in a way nowhere else so clearly done. In so doing he shows the independence of Christianity to Occidental civilization: its priorness to this

civilization, the non-Christian factors which have been so dominant in producing most of the peculiarly European characteristics of our civilization, Christianity's exercise of the role of repeatedly judging and correcting European civilization, the extent and influence of Christianity in many areas of the world outside Europe during the rise of the Western civilization (700 A.D. onward), and the manifest ability of Christianity today to exist in other cultures apart from association with the penetration of Western civilization through colonialism. For the sake of this one lecture the book is highly commended.

In the rest of the book Toynbee shows himself an utter novice in the matter of understanding religions. He deals in broad, personalized generalizations, unsupported by adequate evidence and almost without exception erroneous. He has a superficial estimate of the origin, character, and roles of the religions of mankind, using the outmoded "value judgment" criterion and envisioning the future in terms of an amalgam of Hocking's principle of "reception" and Bahaism. Toynbee's appeal is that the religions should stand together—tolerant, equal, shoulder-to-shoulder—against the common enemy of man's self-centered worship of himself, whether expressed individually or collectively.

In style and readability the book is excellent.

Herbert C. Jackson

The Study of Missions in Theological Education. Volume II, 1910-1950. By Olav Guttorm Myklebust. Oslo, Norway: Egede Instituttet, 1957. 413 pages.

This work completes the study the first volume of which was reviewed in Volume LIII, number 4 (October, 1956). Dr. Myklebust points out that although the science has its origins earlier, especially with Ramon Lull (c. 1232-1316) and Alexander Duff (18-1878) and the foundations of a scholarly literature on missions "can fairly be claimed by Gustav Warneck" (1834-1910), the study of missions is a new discipline which has assumed an independent existence and a real significance in theological education only in the last half century. The turning point in this regard was the crucially important World Missionary Conference held in Edinburgh, Scotland, in 1910.

In this work, which is an original research of remarkable comprehensiveness, it is very significantly pointed out that from the inception of the modern Protestant missionary endeavor (William Carey and the Baptist Missionary Society, 1792) until 1910 Great Britain had led the way in furthering the world-wide extension of the evangelical faith, that from then onward the influence of the United States became more decisive all along (p. 19), until in 1950 our country was responsible for more than half the total resources in personnel and more than two-thirds of the total resources in funds (p. 327), but that in the understanding of the meaning and purpose of missions there has been, since the Jerusalem Meeting of

the International Missionary Council in 1928, a "vindication of what may be called the Continental conception of missions" (p. 21).

This book is for the serious scholar, but for all such who are concerned with the real *esse* of the Church it provides a veritable mine of factual data. By conscious intention, interpretation of the data has been kept at minimal level. Thus it will serve as a source for interpretative studies and a guide for further implementation of studies of missions in theological education for at least a generation to come. Highly valuable also are the forty-three pages of bibliography and the twelve pages of names of leading persons in missions scholarship throughout the world.

Herbert C. Jackson

David Livingstone: His Life and Letters. By George Seaver. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 650 pages. \$6.95.

Missionary biography is experiencing a revival, and the new works are often superior in both quality and length to older writings. This is true of the latest biography of the great pioneer in the interior of Africa, a land which is developing so rapidly into ultra-modern countries among the family of nations exactly a century after the explorer undertook his expedition to open up the "Dark Continent." The development of interest in Livingstone is reflected by the fact that a comprehensive bibliography of works about him enumerated eighty-seven books in 1929, this increased to 198 works by 1947, and many more have been written since the latter date due to the publication of a host of previously unpublished letters.

The present work is the ablest contribution to Livingstone literature to date. This is enough to offset the two weaknesses of the volume, its high cost and its somewhat pedantic style. The style is partly the result of a running reference to or debate with other writers on Livingstone, partly the consequence of the avowed purpose of letting Livingstone speak for himself as much as possible by means of frequent quotations from his letters and journals, and partly merely the reflection of the author's own personality. Notwithstanding the defects, which are by no means slight, careful reading of this book is extremely rewarding. It portrays not merely the activities but the thoughts, aspirations, disappointments and frustrations of one who became one of the great missionaries of all time: a dedicated Christian concerned for the spiritual welfare of the Africans; one of the first medical missionaries; linguist and anthropologist; explorer, geographer, and naturalist of first rank; and crusader against the slave trade. It is a story not merely of a man but of a whole Continent and of the spirit of the nineteenth century.

The book contains eight maps of excellent quality, one being of Africa as known in 1840, prior to Livingstone's journeys, and another of Africa as known following the publication in 1874 of his last researches. It also has five splendid portraits of Livingstone,

two of them previously unpublished miniatures taken in Cape Town in 1852 when he was thirty-nine. It is well documented, contains a brief bibliography and list of manuscripts in archives, and is indexed with unusual care and comprehensiveness.

Herbert C. Jackson

World Service: A History of the Foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York: Association Press, 1957. 489 pages. \$5.00.

Here is another monumental work from the pen of Latourette, written with his usual scholarly thoroughness and comprehensiveness. The Y. M. C. A. Movement has been seriously misunderstood and under-estimated by multitudes in the United States, especially among Baptists. This book provides the corrective. After sketching the world situation into which the movement was born in London in 1844 and summarizing its origin and development in the U.S.A. and Canada, the volume details the service and contribution of the North American wing of the movement in many countries of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. Final chapters delineate the main characteristics of this world service and conclude with that which one always expects from Latourette, a "Comprehensive Retrospect."

This history shows once again how great movements, culminating in a world view and in world service, resulted from the Evangelical Awakening. The founder of the Y.M.C.A. movement was George Williams (1821-1905), who had been profoundly stirred by the writings of Charles G. Finney. Charter members were from four major Protestant denominations of England—Church of England, Methodist, Congregational, and Baptist.

Herbert C. Jackson

Reconciliation and Renewal in Japan. By Masao Takenaka. New York: Friendship Press, 1957. 95 pages. \$1.00.

Though brief, this an unusually competent history of Protestant missions in Japan, written by an outstanding Japanese Christian leader who is a professor in the School of Theology of Doshisha University.

Herbert C. Jackson

Ecumenism and the Evangelical. By J. Marcellus Kik. Philadelphia: The Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1958. 152 pages. \$3.50.

"Evangelicals—especially those within the historic denominations—must evaluate ecumenism since its promotion and growth will confront them with important decisions," explains the author (p. 1) as the ground for this book. This insight is both correct

and important, but it is unfortunate that the writer, due to extreme predilections in theology, is almost totally erroneous in his understanding of what is commonly known as the Ecumenical Movement. He is also erroneous and unfair in abrogating the term "Evangelical" to his own Fundamentalist group when it properly has a much more comprehensive significance. This book will be completely misleading to anyone unfamiliar with the Ecumenical Movement; to those already familiar with the subject it is useful as indicative of some of the problems involved in and criticisms made of this movement which has risen to such prominence in Christianity in the half-century since 1910.

Herbert C. Jackson

III. THEOLOGICAL STUDIES

Theology in Conflict. By Gustaf Wingren, translated by Eric H. Wahlstrom. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. 170 pages. \$3.25.

Dr. Gustaf Wingren, Professor of Systematic Theology in the University of Lund, Sweden, examines cogently the basic assumptions of Anders Nygren, Karl Barth and Rudolph Bultmann. Because the critical examination of the presuppositions underlying the method of a theologian lays bare the real content of his thought, Dr. Wingren confines himself to two central elements in theological methodology: Anthropology and Hermeneutics. Part I is an examination of the anthropological presuppositions of the three principal, contemporary theologians of our time. Part II lays bare their principles of Biblical exegesis and interpretation. With the problem of how Grace and Law are to be related as his touchstone, the author directs at these theological giants a basic question: how do they clearly show that God's love gives the answer to man's guilt? None succeed well enough in his judgment.

Nygren's method of Motif Research, based on a critical philosophy of religion, does violence to the total historical realities which have produced and shaped the Christian faith. Wingren charges Barth with a simple inversion of Liberal theology although God has been placed at the center. Barth's anthropology remains essentially as it was in Liberal theology! While accepting the Bible as the authentic witness to God's revealing acts in history, Barth's total rejection of a "natural theology" precludes him from taking the law as seriously as does the Bible itself! Grace can be understood only as the adequate answer to the guilt engendered by the Law. But to have law is to have some knowledge of God. Thus Wingren contends that the Gospel can neither contain the law nor become itself a new law!

Like Nygren, Bultmann also begins with a preconceived philosophy: existentialism. While it deals with guilt, it does so on non-

biblical foundations. Yet he is closer to the scriptures on the subject of law and grace than either Barth or Nygren. Bultmann raises problems in other areas! His demythologizing program spiritualizes the Law and minimizes the centrality of past event in historical revelation. Ultimately, doubt must replace faith in such a system; or a mystical existentialism finally negates historical encounter. At last one is forced to ask, "Is there really a God after all?" The answer is really unimportant for Bultmann. His existential approach to the Scriptures, while it seeks to make present day preaching deal with life's immediate and profound questions, seriously mutilates the kerygma of the New Testament.

Wingren's volume is one of the most discerning critiques of the great theological age in which we all now have our existence. The author provides the diligent student with an apparatus for evaluating other theologians. His conclusions on Nygren, Barth and Bultmann will be hard to assail.

John M. Lewis

The Doctrine of the Trinity. By Cyril C. Richardson. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 159 pages. \$3.00.

It is shocking for an Anglican to call the doctrine of the Trinity "an artificial construct." Dr. Richardson does this neither from a small regard for what the doctrine attempts to express, nor from the promptings of a low Christology. Yet he does it! He does it with learning, delicacy, and a devout spirit. He does it because he believes that the traditional formulations of the doctrine raise more issues than they settle; and because the traditional formulations tend to resolve the paradox of divine absoluteness and relatedness. From it one can learn much, even while one dissents from its conclusions.

Richardson's interpretation of Gregory of Nyssa is highly perceptive. I do not believe he has "felt" his way into Barth. I wonder if, in response to this work, someone will feel called to lay once more the ghost of Schleiermacher. It is safe to predict that the book will be answered—and for this Dr. Richardson and others will be grateful.

T. D. Price

The Gospel of the Incarnation. By George S. Hendry. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 174 pages. \$3.75.

The paragraph allotted the reviewer for this volume permits only a statement of the author's own thesis: The principal cause of the fragmentation of the gospel (and source of divisive theories) has been the neglect of the incarnate life of Christ. This neglect is traceable in serious measure to the metaphysical misconstruction of the humanity of Christ as expressed in the second homo-ousian of Chalcedon. A perceptive, quite learned, and unconvincing argument.

T. D. Price

The Death of Christ. By John Knox. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 190 pages. \$2.75.

In this stimulating study of "The Cross in New Testament History and Faith" John Knox, Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature at Union Theological Seminary, considers briefly the crucifixion in its historical setting before examining in detail the meaning of the cross for Jesus himself and its significance for the Church. There is an appended note on Rudolf Bultmann's "Demythologization."

Knox argues that Jesus did not think of himself as Messiah, Son of Man, or Suffering Servant but, rather, that it was with the consciousness of unique vocation as the prophet of God that Jesus "set his face to go to Jerusalem" and the cross that awaited him there. The basis for this argument is largely, although not entirely, the "psychological implausibility" of these conceptions as a mode of Jesus' own self-consciousness.

In regard to the cross in the Church, Knox maintains that every New Testament reference to the meaning of the death of Christ must be understood as either "victory" or "sacrifice." Although these two categories are logically irreconcilable, both are necessary, for they answer to the two ways in which our human need of salvation is felt. We need deliverance and forgiveness.

No reader of this book can remain neutral. Whether he takes sides for or against the author's position, his own understanding of the significance of the cross will be enriched.

Heber F. Peacock

The Witnessing Community. By Suzanne DeDietrich. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 180 pages. \$3.75.

This study of the Biblical record of God's purpose deals with such themes as the election, sanctification and mission of the People of God. The great threats to the life of the People of God (in any age) are brought under review: conformity (secularization) and isolated irrelevance. The life of Israel and of the Church is examined on these themes as they appear in the whole Bible. This is at once a good essay in Biblical Theology, and study of the nature of the Christian Church.

T. D. Price

Luther's Works, Vol. 31: Career of the Reformer, I, 1517-20. Edited by Harold J. Grimm. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press; St. Louis: Concordia Press, 1957. 416 pages. \$5.00.

Of the fifty-five volumes of Luther's works in English, none will be more welcomed than this one. Herein are translated and brought together the early attacks of Luther upon the medieval church and his statements of evangelical faith. These include, among others, *Ninety-five Theses, Explanations of the Ninety-five Theses,*

Proceedings at Augsburg, Two Kinds of Righteousness, The Leipzig Debate, and The Freedom of a Christian. Very helpful introductions and bibliographical references are furnished for each of the works.

Guy H. Ranson

Luther's Works, Volume 40: Church and Ministry, II. Edited by Conrad Bergendoff. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, St. Louis: Concordia Press, 1958. 410 pages. \$5.00.

The American Edition of Luther's works is an exciting new project. Jaroslav Pelikan edits volumes 1-30, and Helmut T. Lehman volumes 31-55.

Volume 40, the second on Luther's various writings on Church and ministry, shows Luther moving between what he considered the Catholic errors of the right and the radical errors of the left. Editor Bergendoff has done most of the translating, and the offerings include various important letters, matters touching on the sacraments, instructions regarding parish supervision, and the treatise on *The Keys* of 1530.

In this time of revived interest in the subject with which this volume deals, its influence is sure to be felt.

T. D. Price

Luther's Works, Vol. 22: Sermons on the Gospel of St. John Chapters 1-4. Edited by Jaroslav Pelikan. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1957. 558 pages. \$6.00.

The great theologians have always lived with the Bible. Luther was a great, if not systematic, theologian. In both pulpit and university chair he expounded the Scriptures.

This volume of the new "American Edition" of Luther's works gives us fifty-three sermons on the first four chapters of John's Gospel. This edition, planned in fifty-five volumes and published jointly by the Concordia and Muhlenberg firms, will be by far the amplest and best edition of Luther in English. Here are rich veins to be mined.

T. D. Price

The Library of Christian Classics, Volume XXIII, Calvin: Commentaries. Translated and edited by Joseph Haroutunian, in collaboration with Louise Pettibone Smith. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 414 pages. \$5.00.

The Library of Christian Classics is the most useful single collection now available of translated sources of Christian history and theology. Pastors, as well as students should be buying the whole set. Most of the planned twenty-six volumes are now available.

Haroutunian's volume on Calvin's *Commentaries* is most useful. With some seventy-five pages being given to introductory matter, including the autobiographical materials from the commentary on the Psalms, the remainder of the volume provides us with important excerpts from Calvin's voluminous work as a teacher and commentator. The materials are organized systematically, by subjects which are not only crucial to an understanding of Calvin, but of Christian theology as such. The volume will provide an excellent companion volume for the student of Calvin, who is usually so pressed for time and so dismayed by the sheer bulk of the *Commentaries*, as to stick pretty much to the *Institutes* alone.

T. D. Price

The Formation of Christian Dogma. By Martin Werner. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 352 pages. \$7.50.

This is a translation by S. G. F. Brandon of the author's own abbreviated re-write of *Die Entstehung des christlichen Dogmas* (1st ed., 1941, 2nd ed., 1954). The original is more than twice the size of this yet substantial volume.

This important, immensely learned, and generally unsatisfactory book elaborates (in conscious relation to Schweitzer's thesis of consistent eschatology) the argument that Christian dogma emerged through the Church's rationalization of its disappointment at the delay of the Parousia. This process of rationalization entailed the transformation of the eschatological Primitive Christianity into the Hellenistic mystery-religion of Early Catholicism. The chief doctrinal deposits left by this process of transformation are, according to Werner, the Trinitarian and Christological dogmas.

The book has already had considerable notice in America since, especially, the end of World War II. The English version will no doubt be the cause for renewed discussion of a work from which the reviewer has learned much, and from which he gains little permanent satisfaction.

T. D. Price

An Introduction to Philosophical Psychology. By Herman Reith. New York: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1956. 305 pages. \$4.95.

For those who are interested in the highly scholastic and metaphysical psychology of Thomism, this book affords an excellent and compendious treatment. Its presuppositions are, of course, Aristotelian, and those who would not accept this approach will find themselves both enlightened by the discussion and yet at variance with it. The description of sensation and the consideration of epistemology follow the usual Thomist model. The book is provided with selected readings from Thomas Aquinas and Aristotle.

E. C. Rust

Love and Justice: Selections From the Shorter Writings of Reinhold Niebuhr. Edited by D. B. Robertson. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957. 301 pages. \$6.00.

In this volume D. B. Robertson has brought together sixty-four shorter writings of Reinhold Niebuhr bearing upon the problem of love and justice in the social situation. The selected essays deal with issues that engaged Dr. Niebuhr's attention over a period of more than twenty-five years. Five articles in Part One introduce the reader to Niebuhr's concept of love and justice. Part Two, composed of twenty-seven articles, deals with love and justice on the national level in the area of politics, economics, and race relations. Part Three, made up of twenty-one articles, deals with love and justice in international relations including a variety of issues, plans for world organization, the "enemy," and the atomic and hydrogen bomb. Part Four with eleven articles is concerned solely with the pacifist problem.

The editor of this volume has perceptively selected from Niebuhr's huge literary production the most relevant articles on the relation of love and justice in the social order. They are often more lucid and understandable than materials in his books. The excellent introduction by Dr. Robertson and the organization of the materials make it possible for the reader to more easily grasp the heart of what Niebuhr has to say in terms of love and justice and social issues.

H. H. Barnette

Marx Meets Christ. By Frank Wilson Price. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1957. 1067 pages. \$3.50.

The author of this volume speaks with authority on Communism, especially in China. He was born of missionary parents in China, was educated there and in the United States. For thirty years he served as a Presbyterian missionary in China, lived there for over three years after the Communists took over, and was finally released in 1952. This volume is well-organized and well-documented. It is written with clarity and force and presents a thorough, detailed comparison of Christianity and Communism. The confrontation of Christianity and Communism is described in the following chapter headings: "Two Persons Meet," "Two Ideas Meet," "Two Systems Meet," "Two Faiths Meet." In his analysis of these problems, Dr. Price puts his finger on the basic weaknesses of Communism and the realism of the Christian alternative.

H. H. Barnette

The Christian Ethos. By Werner Elert. Translation by Carl J. Schindler. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1957. 451 pages. \$6.00.

This is one of the most important of recent books to present a systematic study of Christian ethics. Viewing Christian ethics as the awareness of divine judgment, Elert maintains that it is the foundation of all theology. The work was first published in Germany in 1949, and it is the product of one of the greatest Lutheran theologians of the first half of the twentieth century.

Ethics arises from obligation, as viewed by Elert. Since man is a social being with obligations to self and others, ethics becomes almost the essence of existence. When man's obligation is seen to arise not from abstract principles or external relations but from personal relation to the living God, then the Christian ethic is recognized as the dynamic of man's existence. This obligation arises first from God's order and his law, thus the first part of Elert's study is concerned with ethics under the law. But it is only under grace that man is able to respond to God to do his will, and thus the second part of the study is concerned with ethics under grace. Finally, men under grace are formed into the corporate community of the Church, and this calls for a third part, which is the objective ethic of the redeemed community. This scheme affords ample opportunity for pointed examination of such primary ethical problems as the moral nature of man, divine law, the orders of society, vocation, sin and guilt, nature of righteousness, and the significance of history.

This work is written from a Lutheran orientation. It is not, however, denominationally slanted. It actually is a truly evangelical ethic, being written from the orientation which made Luther the reformer that he was. The work, therefore, should be given careful study by all who would have their own lives founded upon a biblical faith.

Guy H. Ranson

The Responsible Christian. By Victor Obenaus. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. 219 pages. \$4.00.

This is a popularly written book on Christian social responsibility. It is written primarily for the layman. The purpose of the work, by a teacher in the Chicago Theological Seminary, is to stimulate the Christian layman to seek to understand the nature of the social responsibility which the Christian faith lays upon him. Such topics as economic life, race, communism, church and state, and Christian vocation are discussed. The book is designed more to encourage further reading and to persuade laymen to act in accordance with the faith which they profess than to give clear answers to problems. It could be wished, however, that the author had dealt a bit more definitively with both the nature of the Christian faith and the problems of society.

Guy H. Ranson

What The Christian Hopes For In Society. Selections from *Christianity and Crisis*. Edited by Wayne H. Cowan. Foreword by Reinhold Niebuhr. New York: Association Press, 1957. 125 pages. \$.50.

This little book consists of eight reprints of excellent recent articles from *Christianity and Crisis* by such writers as John C. Bennett, Paul Tillich, Amos N. Wilder, and Reinhold Niebuhr. Both ministers and laymen will find these essays informative, interesting, and provocative. Some of the primary Christian emphases concerning society are here expressed in engaging and simple language.

Guy H. Ranson

Faith and Ethics: The Theology of H. Richard Niebuhr. Edited by Paul Ramsey. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1957. 306 pages. \$5.00.

This *Festschrift* honoring H. Richard Niebuhr, Sterling Professor of Theology and Ethics in Yale University, will be looked upon as one of the most important theological publications of the decade. It is not a formal thing to mark an anniversary. It is an attempt to enunciate and evaluate the contribution of one of the greatest of living theologians and ethicists. Dr. Niebuhr has long been known as a theologian's theologian, and in this work some of his former students, who are themselves distinguished theologians and moral philosophers, write incisively and appreciately of their teacher and fellow scholar.

Part I concerns Professor Niebuhr and the formation of his thought. This is done in three chapters. Chapter I, by Liston Pope, Dean of Yale Divinity School, is a personal appreciation of Mr. Niebuhr, and it serves to introduce a great man whose natural humility has prevented as wide knowledge of him as his ability should command. The next two chapters, by Hans W. Frei, professor of religion in Yale University, discuss Niebuhr's theology and some of its sources in recent theologians. The chapter on Niebuhr's theological background is itself one of the major contributions to the literature on recent theology.

Part II, chapters four through ten, are concerned with some of the problems of Niebuhr's theology and ethics. James Gustafson, professor of social ethics at Yale, deals with Christian ethics and social policy; Paul Ramsey, professor of religion in Princeton University, deals with the transformation of ethics; George Schrader, professor of philosophy at Yale, deals with value and valuation; Waldo Beach, professor of Christian ethics in Duke University, writes on a theological analysis of race relations; Julian Hartt, professor of philosophical theology at Yale, discusses the ontological status of the believer in relation to God; Carl Michalson, professor of theology in Drew University, considers the problem of the real presence of the hidden God; and Robert S. Michaelsen, director of the school of

religion of the University of Iowa, discusses the kingdom of God in America and the task of the church. These are topics with which Mr. Niebuhr has been, and is, vitally concerned. Since he himself is just now at the height of his powers, we may look forward to his own further dealing with the problems and criticisms which are pointed up in this book.

Guy H. Ranson

IV. PRACTICAL STUDIES

The Book of God. By April Oursler Armstrong. Garden City, New York: Garden City Books, 1957. 447 pages. \$4.95.

Daughter of the famous Fulton Oursler, the author has here adapted for children the Old Testament stories from her father's best seller *The Greatest Book Ever Written*. Following the sequence of the conventional arrangement of the thirty-nine books, Mrs. Armstrong tells in engaging language Biblical stories of "The Beginning," "Adventures in the Wilderness," "The Judges," "The Kings," "The Kingdom of Israel," "The Kingdom of Judah," "The Captivity" and "The Return." The nature and content of these stories would be suited to Junior and Intermediate levels. The book could be helpful to workers in these age groups also, although its price may deter popular buying.

W. R. Cromer

The Wisdom of the Fathers. By Erik Routley. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1958. 128 pages. \$2.25.

The theological problems that arise to plague and perplex Christendom today are actually not new but have been the problems with which Christian thinkers have dealt through the centuries. The author of this little volume takes eight of these problems and lets some of the early church fathers give their views on these problems: Origen, "On Reading the Bible," Clement of Alexandria, "On Faith and Knowledge," Athanasius, "Death of Death and Hell's Destruction," Augustine, "On Grace and Free Will," Cyprian, "On the Unity of the Church," Cyprian, "On Loyalties," Basil, "On Asceticism and the Art of Conversation," John of Damascus, "On Visual Aids."

The author's own comments and interpretations add further insight. Here is an English writer who writes with clarity and vigor, with an occasional dash of dry humor. His style makes for easy and enjoyable reading.

Findley B. Edge

The Church Redemptive. By Howard Grimes. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 190 pages. \$3.50.

Several books have been written recently on the theological foundations of religious education. This volume is one of the best. In guiding the "program" of a church, there is always the possibility that pastors, ministers of education, and others may become so involved in promoting the "program" that they fail to see clearly both the true nature and the true function of the Church. We cannot make the Church what we want it to be; the Church can only be what God made it to be. Part one, entitled, "The Nature of the Church," leads the reader to a fresh look at the Church in terms of "the Body of Christ," "the people of God," and "the fellowship of the Spirit." Part two, entitled, "The Mission of the Laity," gives the practical meaning of the life and ministry of the Church. The book is highly recommended for pastors, ministers of education, and all serious Christians.

Findley B. Edge

The Gift of Conversion. By Erik Routley. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1955. 144 pages. \$2.50.

The thesis of this book is that the most conspicuous quality in any conversion experience is freedom for the convert, primarily the freedom "to be" resulting from a true sense of fellowship with Christ. The author presents his case by drawing on many sources. Too often, he tells us, the temptation is to assimilate every conversion experience to those of the saints, and he contends that there are fewer common qualities in the conversion experiences of Paul, Augustine, and Wesley than might have been supposed. The one outstanding quality common to these was the sense of freedom which came to each as a result of his conversion. The conversion of Bartimaeus is discussed as an example of how this freedom involves the gift of Christ himself and leads one to want to "walk in the way," relieving him of bondage to the law.

Perhaps the most rewarding part of the book is in the presentation of comparisons and contrasts between law and grace as dealt with in the Old and New Testaments, by which the author strengthens his contentions, and in the discussion of what it means for one "to be" as a result of conversion. In the concluding chapter, Routley presents implications in his viewpoint for the church and evangelism, particularly for evangelistic preaching, as these tend to develop dependence on the part of converts rather than freedom. Seeking to convince persuasively, Routley has developed his thesis most effectively and has produced a work which should enrich the thinking of all Christian workers concerned with evangelism.

Sabin P. Landry

Beliefs That Matter. By Ganse Little. Philadelphia: The Westminster Press. 142 pages. \$2.50.

This is a book which is composed of a collection of seventeen sermons of varying lengths, preached first to local congregations and later on the National Radio Pulpit. The sermons were not originally prepared for publication, but came into being because of the insistence of the hearers, both from the local congregations and from the radio audience. The sermons were preached in "a valiant attempt to put into one consecutive series the basic content of our Protestant Christian faith." The written sermons, full of illustrative materials, have no doubt lost in publication something of the strong appeal of the preacher in preaching them. Taken in the way the author intended, to help lay Christians sort out inherited beliefs and make them meaningful, the book has value.

W. Peyton Thurman

Testament of Vision. By Henry Zylstra. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans, 1958. 234 pages. \$3.50.

Here are essays on literature, education, and Christian faith by the late Professor of English Literature of Calvin College. Collected and edited by friends, the essays make for informative and challenging reading, and reveal a remarkable teacher and thinker. In our own time the essays on education are greatly needed.

T. D. Price

The Rural Church Movement. By Mark Rich. Columbia, Missouri: Juniper Knoll Press, 1958. 251 pages. \$3.50.

Mark Rich has long been a leader in the rural church movement in America. In this volume he has made a unique contribution in that he has given us a factual perspective of the rural church movement in this country. He sees this movement in four major periods: period of solidarity (about 1620—about 1775), period of division (about 1775—about 1870), period of decay and concern (1860 or 1870), then the period of cooperation and integration (1910—). At the end of each chapter references occur for further reading.

The rural church movement as we know it today has its obvious roots extending back to 75 years ago. The author calls attention to the dynamic personalities in this movement and their literary and practical contributions. Washington Gladden first initiated a serial, "The Christian League of Connecticut," for the *Century* magazine which ignited the flame of concern for the rural church. The Country Life Commission report of 1909 gave impetus to the movement, and in 1910 Warren H. Wilson was appointed the first head of the first National Rural Church Department in the Presbyterian, U.S.A. Board of National Missions, the harbinger of the present 17 national departments.

The rural church movement came to its maturity in the 40's. This movement finds significant expression today in the annual National Convocation on the Church in Town and Country and the magazine, *Town and Country Church*.

This book is important for students of the rural church movement, for directors of rural church work, and rural pastors.

H. H. Barnette

The Preacher's Task and the Stone of Stumbling. By D. T. Niles. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 125 pages. \$2.00.

Through this small volume, representing the Lyman Beecher Lectures at Yale University for 1957, one is introduced to the newest thing in the history of Christianity: the new and renewed insight into our faith and the enrichment of our theological apprehension through the effort of competent nationals of the Younger Churches as they grapple with the problem of interpreting Christianity against a non-Christian environment and proclaiming the Gospel to people of other religious convictions. Thus, in our generation, and those lying just ahead, theological perception will be hammered out on the anvils of various religio-philosophical back-grounds just as was done in the early centuries on a Greco-Roman base. Dr. Niles is a native of Ceylon, where he is a Methodist minister, but he is a "naturalized citizen" of the Christian world, for no one is more influential in evangelism than he. For these lectures to preachers, Niles selected the basic "point of stumbling" with reference to Christianity of a typical Hindu, a typical Muslim, and a typical Buddhist, and sought to present the claims of Christ in the face of these "refusals." The fourth lecture delves into the difficult but all-important question of "when the Gospel is proclaimed," and the last lecture deals with the context of the preacher's task. This book is highly commended. It demonstrates effectively that the "newest thing" redounds not only to the advancement of the Gospel in a non-Christian culture but is equally applicable and helpful in our traditional Western culture.

Herbert C. Jackson

The Integrity of Preaching. By John Knox. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. 96 pages. \$1.75.

The Integrity of Preaching is a series of lectures given at Duke Divinity School by Dr. John Knox, now Baldwin Professor of Sacred Literature at Union Theological Seminary. The general theme of the book is stated in the sub-title, "How Biblical Sermons Meet Modern Needs."

This book is a helpful edition to the current emphasis being given to the necessity of Biblical preaching. The chapters on "Preaching Is Worship" and "Preaching Is Sacrament" will be of unusual interest to most preachers.

V. L. Stanfield

To Whom Shall We Go? By D. M. Baillie. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1955. 199 pages. \$3.00.

D. M. Baillie established himself as an author and theologian of note in a recent book, *God Was in Christ*. Therefore, this volume of sermons on biblical and theological themes will be welcomed by those who are already acquainted with D. M. Baillie's writing. The volume contains twenty-five sermons, with most of them following the theme of the Christian Year.

V. L. Stanfield

Love and Conflict: New Patterns in Family Life. By Gibson Winter. New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958. 191 pages. \$3.50.

The author of this book, a sociologist and a minister, interprets marriage as a covenant between a man and woman which is included in the broader Covenant of God with his people. He interprets the drastic changes which the post-war family evidences in comparison with previous family patterns. He underscores the shrankened adequacy of the contemporary father and interprets much of the insecurity of modern family life in the light of this fact. He insists that fathers should be fathers in fact and not simply in role. One of the most helpful sections of the book is his chapter four which he entitles "The Covenant of Intimacy," re-emphasizing the depth and pathos of the anxiety the modern home faces in the presence of the intimacy for which marriage and family living call.

This is a book which both pastor and lay person can read in conjunction, and would serve as a stimulating guide for discussion in family life education groups.

Wayne E. Oates

Paths to Power by John Huss. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1958. 151 pages. \$2.50.

Pastors concerned with the undergirding of their total church program with the spirit of prayer and with finding a more effective procedure for the conduct of their mid-week prayer service will be especially interested in this new book by John Huss, now pastor of the Main Street Baptist Church, Jacksonville, Florida. After a brief historical presentation of his experience with "the Hour of Power," which is the name that he gives to his mid-week service, he outlines how a crusade for the support of such a mid-week program could be conducted and then how promotion, the recognition of special occasions, music, meditation, teaching and preaching can all be blended into an effective and attractive Wednesday evening program.

Allen W. Graves

Christian Worship, Its History and Meaning. By Horton Davies
Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1957. 128 pages. \$2.00.

This is a brief, popular study of the history and significance of Christian worship presenting the many forms of Christian worship, the structure and content of worship, and how it is related to the everyday life of the Christian and his world.

This book will be helpful reading for all church members and especially so for all pastors, department worship leaders, and others with responsibilities for planning and conducting public worship.

Allen W. Graves

Our Family Worship at Home. By A. L. and E. W. Gebhart.
Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 128 pages. \$2.00.

To make family worship meaningful for both children and parents is not easy. This book will be helpful in solving this problem. It is not a book of devotions. Rather, it is a book of forty-nine topics written in conversational form in which members of the family of the authors talk about matters of a spiritual nature. Bible references that are related to these conversations are included. Perhaps the most helpful part is the suggested questions "for your family to think about." This approach will certainly help bring religion into the everyday relations of the family.

Findley B. Edge

The Teaching Methods of the Master. By Claude C. Jones. St. Louis: The Bethany Press, 1957. 144 pages. \$2.50.

This volume follows almost exactly the topics used in the books, *Jesus, the Master Teacher*, by H. H. Horn and *The Art of Jesus as Teacher*, by C. F. McCoy which were written years ago. This volume makes no appreciable contribution which was not made by the other books.

Findley B. Edge

The Fourth "R" in American Education. By R. H. Martin. Published by Dr. R. H. Martin, 712 Grant Building, Pittsburgh 19, Pennsylvania, 1957. 106 pages. \$2.00.

This is a vigorous, though not deep, plea for teaching non-sectarian religion in the public schools. He discusses the problem in its historical, judicial, and moral orientation. The solution, he suggests, is "to be found in the integration of moral and non-sectarian religious instruction in the regular public school program where it properly belongs, to give the students a rounded-out, well-balanced education."

Findley B. Edge

Church Music Manual. My W. Hines Sims. Nashville: Convention Press, 1957. 152 pages.

Music plays a vital part in the program of every church. Therefore, pastors and church leaders will welcome this new book which describes concisely and clearly an effective music ministry for the church.

It discusses congregational music activities, graded choirs, instrumental music activities, a music training program, promotional activities, physical facilities needed for a church music program and a standard by which a church music ministry may be evaluated.

This book meets a real need and should be widely used.

Allen W. Graves

Language and the Pursuit of Truth. By John Wilson: New York: Cambridge University Press, 1956. 105 pages. \$1.75.

In an effort to present semantics—the study of linguistic communication—to the general public, Mr. Wilson aims his brief treatise at the “non-professional philosopher.” Citing basic insights that come from as diverse sources as Stuart Chase and I. A. Richards, the Housemaster at The King’s School in Canterbury simplifies “our rational understanding of language in general, and our ability to argue, to answer questions, and to solve problems through the medium of words” to the point of oversimplification! Not only that, when applying the principles of semantics to “Truth” in thirty small pages, the semanticist leaves something to be desired as to the inclusive scholarship of the field. Therefore, although his tome might well serve as a handbook to be scanned before one dives into the deep waters of linguistic communication, it also might well mislead one who seeks solidly-based training in language as training for thought-provoking communication. In all fairness, it should be added that the author seems aware of much of the aforementioned weakness. However, he does not appear mindful of the enormously red flag which he waves in the faces of religious communicators by his “skip-bombing” allusions in the chapter on “Truth.”

Charles A. McGlon

The Audio-Visual Equipment Manual. By James D. Finn. New York: The Dryden Press (Henry Holt and Company), 1958. 540 pages. \$4.90.

This a rather comprehensive treatment of audio-visual equipment. Three major areas are covered: (1) projection equipment, (2) playback equipment, and (3) tape recorders. This volume will help churches and schools answer the questions, what is available and how is it operated. It does not seek to evaluate the various makes and models and thus makes no attempt to answer the questions, which is best?

Each of the three areas is sub-divided into three parts: a discussion of theory, instructions for operating, and a discussion of the general techniques of good practice. The Manual is well written, well-illustrated, and well-outlined for ease of use.

Findley B. Edge

The Psychology of Personal Adjustment. By Roger W. Heyns. New York: The Dryden Press (Henry Holt and Company), 1958. 540 pages. \$4.90.

This book is an excellent textbook and reading guide to give the reader a thorough-going orientation to the latest research on personality adjustment. Beginning with the basic concept of frustration, the role of adjustment mechanisms, the function of motivation and unconscious process, and the character of feelings, emotions, and learning, the author lays a conceptual groundwork for interpreting the development of personality. He does not restrict the development of personality to childhood and adolescence, but goes on to deal with the problems of marital adjustment and adjustment to aging. He has excellent reading suggestions at the end of each chapter, and the pastor who reads this will have an abundant store of dependable information which is immediately applicable to his work as a preacher, as a counselor, and as a practicing family member.

Wayne E. Oates

Judas. By Anton and Elly Van Heurn. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1958. 307 pages. \$3.75.

Judas is another religious novel, telling the story of the betrayer of Jesus. The authors have sought to answer the age old question, "Why did he do it?" To them, Judas was a poorly adjusted but high-minded follower of Jesus who made a great mistake. He misunderstood the purpose of Jesus and greatly over-estimated the integrity of the chief priest. His moment of understanding came too late.

The Van Heurns have made skillful use of background material and interesting people to produce a novel of considerable force. However, it is improbable that many will agree with the interpretation.

Joseph Stiles

One Finger For God. By Stuart B. Jackman. Naperville, Illinois: Alec Allenson, 1957. 189 pages. \$2.50.

In *One Finger For God* the author deals with problems and opportunities that confront the church by telling stories of actual Christians who face the problems. He deals with witchcraft and

taboos in Madagascar, the problem of prosperity and spiritual decay in Britain, the racial problem in Africa and others. Mr. Jackman has told some very interesting stories of actual people who, though serving in small places, are doing big things. The readable style and the deep dedication of the characters involved make this little book very worthwhile reading.

Joseph Stiles

BOOKS RECEIVED

Man In Nature and in Grace. By Stuart Barton Babbage. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 125 pages. \$1.50.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, 1845-1939, Volume 3, Widening Horizons, 1845-1895. By Wade Crawford Barclay. New York: The Board of Missions of the Methodist Church, 1957. 1211 pages. \$4.50.

The Gospel of John, Vols. 1 and 2. Daily Study Bible Series. By William Barclay. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 268 pages and 338 pages. \$2.50 each volume.

Intercessory Prayer. By Edward W. Bauman. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1958. 112 pages. \$2.00.

The Conflict With Rome. By G. C. Berkouwer. Nutley, New Jersey: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1957. 319 pages. \$5.95.

Jesus of Palestine: The Local Background of the Gospel Documents. By Eric F. F. Bishop. Fairlawn, New Jersey: Essential Books, Inc., 1955. \$7.00.

The Epistle of James. Torch Bible Commentaries. By E. C. Blackman. Naperville, Illinois: Alec Allenson, 1958. 159 pages. \$2.50.

Leading in Public Prayer. By Andrew W. Blackwood. Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1958. 207 pages. \$3.00.

The Holy Spirit In Your Life. By Andrew W. Blackwood, Jr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1958. 169 pages. \$2.50.

Out of the Earth. A Pathway Book. By E. M. Blaiklock. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 80 pages. \$1.50.

Prophetic Faith In Isaiah. By Sheldon H. Blank. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958. 241 pages. \$3.75.

Human Nature In Its Four Fold State. By Thomas Boston. Evansville, Indiana: The Sovereign Grace Book Club, 1957. 360 pages. \$4.95.

Sacramental Teaching and Practice in the Reformation Churches. By G. W. Bromiley. Grand Rapids: Williams B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 111 pages. \$1.50.

An Exposition of the Epistle to the Galatians. By John Brown. Evansville, Indiana: The Sovereign Grace Book Club, 1957. 414 pages. \$4.95.

Billy Graham and the New York Crusade. By George Burnham and Lee Fisher. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957. 192 pages. \$2.50.

The Attributes of God. By Stephen Charnock. Evansville, Indiana: The Sovereign Grace Book Club, 1958. 802 pages. \$8.95.

The Eye Goddess. By Ogs Crawford. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1958. 168 pages. \$10.00.

The Ancient Library of Qumran. By Frank Moore, Cross, Jr. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1958. 196 pages. \$4.50.

The Prophets' Dawn. By Bertram Day. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1957. 294 pages. \$3.50.

Essentials of Physical Science. By John DeVries. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1958. 375 pages. \$6.95.

One Way of Living. By George M. Docherty. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1958. 173 pages. \$3.00.

Healing: Human and Divine. Edited by Simon Doniger. New York: Association Press, 1957. 254 pages. \$3.50.

Religion and Health. Edited by Simon Doniger. New York: Association Press, 1958. 127 pages. Paper back, 50¢.

The Douglass Sunday School Lessons for 1958. By Earl L. Douglass. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. 482 pages. \$2.95.

Wanting the Impossible. By George B. Duncan. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 126 pages. \$2.00.

Basic Christian Beliefs. By W. Burnet Easton, Jr. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. 196 pages. \$3.75.

Ezekiel—The Man and His Message. By H. L. Ellison. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1956. 144 pages. \$2.50.

Stories of Our National Songs. By Ernest K. Emurian. Boston: W. A. Wilde Company, 1957. 108 pages. \$2.00.

Remember Jesus Christ. By Charles R. Erdman. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1958. 108 pages. \$2.00.

Imperial Standard Bible Encyclopedia. By Patrick Fairbairn. Volumes I, II, III, IV, V, and VI. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957. A reprint. \$4.95/volume. \$29.70/set.

Which Books Belong in the Bible? By Floyd V. Filson. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. 174 pages. \$3.00.

Questions and Answers on Religion. By Jack Finegan. New York: Association Press, 1958. 128 pages. 50c.

Commentary on the First Epistle to the Corinthians. By F. L. Godet. Volumes I and II. Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1957. A reprint. \$5.95/volume. \$9.90/set.

The Epistles to the Galatians and to the Philippians. By Kenneth Grayston. Naperville, Illinois: Alec Allenson, 1958. 116 pages. \$2.35.

The Pastoral Epistles—Tyndale New Testament Commentaries. By Donald Guthrie. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 228 pages. \$3.00.

The Study of the Types. By Ada R. Habershon. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1957. 174 pages. \$2.50.

The Wrath of the Lamb. By Anthony Tyrrell Hanson. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1957. 249 pages. \$4.00.

Jesus of Nazareth. By Joy Harington. Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1957. 192 pages. \$3.50.

Fundamentalism and the Church. By Gabriel Hebert. Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1957. 156 pages. \$3.00.

Evangelical Responsibility in Contemporary Theology. A Pathway Book. By Carl F. H. Henry. Grand Rapids: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1957. 89 pages. \$1.50.

Sex and the Christian Life—An Abridgment of SEX ETHICS AND THE KINSEY REPORT. By Seward Hiltner. New York: Association Press, 1957. 125 pages. 50c.

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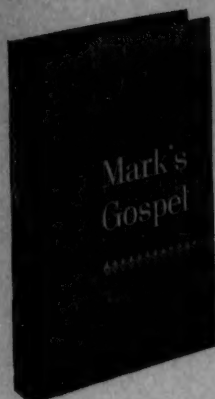
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Our Marching Orders in Evangelism. By J. Clyde Yates. New York: The American Press, 1957. 152 pages. \$2.75.

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1958

- SEPTEMBER 16—Opening Convocation, 10:00 A.M., Inaugural Address by Professor E. J. Loessner
OCTOBER 8—Missionary Day, 11:00 A.M., Dr. Roy O. McClain, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia
NOVEMBER 4-7—Mission Emphasis Week, 10:00 A.M., Dr. Theodore F. Adams, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Richmond, Virginia; President, Baptist World Alliance
DECEMBER 10—Missionary Day, 11:00 A.M., Dr. Gaines S. Dobbins, Distinguished Professor of Church Administration, Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary
DECEMBER 16—Annual Seminary Concert, 8:00 P.M.

1959

- JANUARY 12—Mid-Year Baccalaureate Sermon, 8:00 P.M., Dr. J. P. Allen, Pastor, First Baptist Church, Alexandria, Virginia
JANUARY 13—Mid-Year Commencement Exercises, 2:00 P.M., Dr. John L. Plyler, President, Furman University
JANUARY 14—Second Semester Opening Convocation, 10:00 A.M., Founders' Day Address: Dr. Sydnor L. Stealey, President, Southeastern Baptist Theological Seminary
JANUARY 22—Missionary Day, 11:00 A.M., Dr. H. Cornell Goerner, Secretary for Africa, Europe, and the Near East, Foreign Mission Board
FEBRUARY 20—Missionary Day, 11:00 A.M., Dr. Culbert G. Rutenber, Professor of Philosophy of Religion, Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary
FEBRUARY 20-21—Mission Emphasis Conference for College Students
MARCH 10-11—Annual Meeting of the Board of Trustees
MARCH 12—Missionary Day, 11:00 A.M., Dr. Edward B. Willingham, General Secretary, American Baptist and Woman's American Baptist Foreign Mission Societies
MARCH 17-20—Spring Conference, 10:00 A.M.-12:00 M., Norton Lecturer: Dr. H. Richard Niebuhr, Yale Divinity School. Four Faculty Inaugural Addresses —Professor S. P. Landry, Professor W. E. Ward, Professor E. C. Rust, Professor W. W. Adams.
APRIL 22—Missionary Day, 11:00 A.M., Dr. Baker J. Cauthen, Executive Secretary, Foreign Mission Board
MAY 18—Baccalaureate Sermon, 8:00 P.M.
MAY 19—Centennial Commencement Exercises, 8:00 P.M.
MAY 20—Annual Meeting, Alumni Association of the Southern Baptist Convention, 1:00 P.M. on the Seminary Campus
MAY 20—Pageantry on the Life of Dr. James Petigru Boyce, 2:00 P.M. on the Seminary Campus
MAY 20—Cornerstone-Laying Ceremony, James P. Boyce Centennial Library, 3:00 P.M., at the Library

1960

- JANUARY—Dedication of the James P. Boyce Centennial Library

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